THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

MAY 1, 1923

We stand today on the threshold of a new era in social work. Again Americans are in a position to pioneer.

Contributions by

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RUTH CRAWFORD
ALEXANDER JOHNSON
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In two sections
Section I

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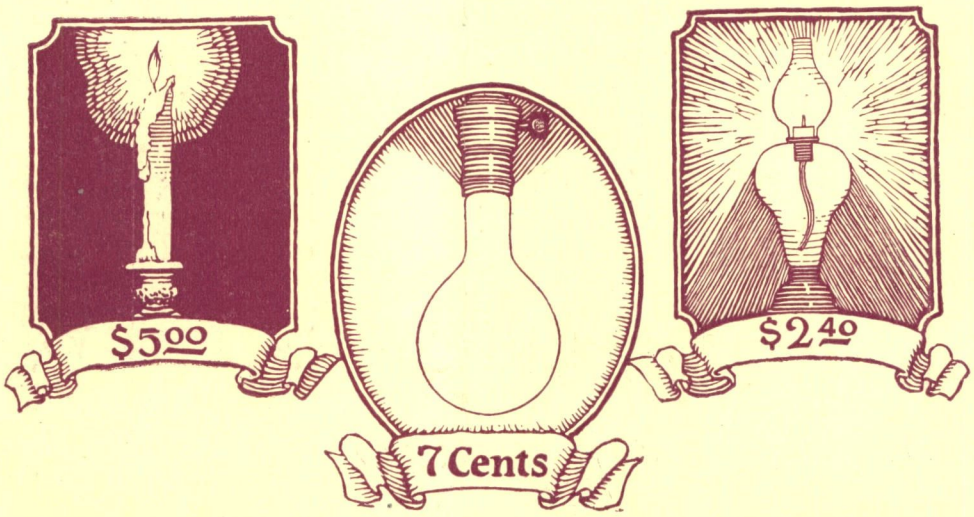

The tallow candles and whale-oil lamps used by our ancestors cost, for the same amount of light, much more than does the electric light we use

Cheaper Light

While the cost of almost everything has gone up, the cost of light has gone down.

The pioneer carbon filament lamp gave cheap light as compared with oil or candles. But the MAZDA Lamp is 500% more efficient than its pioneer predecessor, which means that, with the same amount of current, you get six times as much light.

To maintain its Research Laboratories, where the MAZDA Lamp was produced and perfected, the General Electric Company invests a million dollars a year. Many of the contributions of these laboratories result in lower prices for necessities.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

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Queen Anne or Mary Ann

A Queen Anne front and a Mary Ann back—that's the way a house built all for show is described. To the street it puts up a handsome front—fresh, white paint and smooth green lawns.

Go around to the back, and you get another story.

There are many Queen Anne Towns—

the main business and residence streets are clean and shining. Well-kept parks and squares are show places. But go around to the back streets—to the alleys, to the vacant lots—and you get another story. Rubbish heaps, tin cans, refuse, dirty stables and stagnant water are breeding places for disease carriers.

A town can be clean—

only as its back streets are clean. The disease bred in dirty places is ever a menace to the big house on the hill. So however clean the street and however good *your* neighborhood, you cannot protect your family from malaria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, spinal meningitis, hook worm, and other germ diseases except by making the back of your town as clean and sanitary as its front.

As a City Father—

don't stop with having dirt and danger removed from one spot to another. That is not *cleaning*-up. That is only *stirring*-up. You should see that rubbish and germ-breeding material are not only collected from every spot in the town but that they are burned—destroyed forever.

For germs travel—

some in water; some in milk; some by air; thousands use the common house fly as an airship. Others hop with the flea. Some of the most dangerous come with the sting of a mosquito, while your ten fingers are the favorite transport of many, many thousands from anywhere and everywhere direct to your mouth.

Stamp out disease—

by cleaning-up dirt and filth where disease germs breed.

Be one in your town to start a great town-cleaning drive this Spring. Get your neighbors interested in making your town a safe place in which to live. Help to teach those in the careless house the value of sanitation.

The Three FFF's

"The three F's in the transfer of disease are *Flies, Food* and *Fingers,*" says a leading sanitarian. He considers a knowledge of the three F's more important than the old curriculum of three R's.

Flies—The common house fly—bred in filth—carries on its legs thousands of germs. The fly lights on your baby—leaving its deadly germs. It gets into milk—poisoning it.

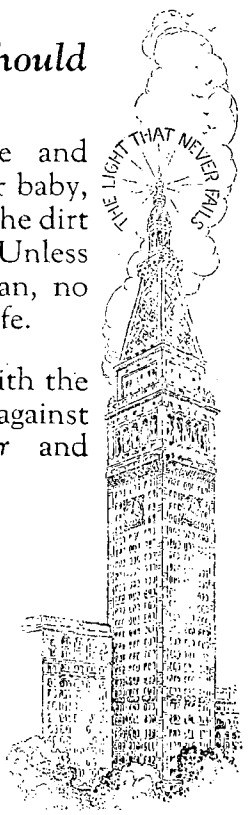
Food—Food handled by unclean hands; food exposed to dirt and flies, becomes contaminated, and may plant the germs of disease directly in the human system.

Fingers—The fingers collect germs and dirt from stair rails, from car straps, from shoes, rubbers, from ordinary objects in every day use. And the fingers are constantly making trips to the mouth.

Every City Mother should remember—

that the snow-white house and nursery she provides for her baby, may be made dangerous by the dirt from the unclean places. Unless all of a community is clean, no part of it *can* be entirely safe.

Start the war on dirt today with the world's greatest weapons against disease—*Fire, Soap, Water* and *Vigor.*



Figures show that wherever the Sanitarian holds sway, disease has been lessened, the death rate cut down, and the average life lengthened.

In the interests of its policyholders the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company wages perpetual warfare upon the carriers and breeding places of disease germs. In 1922 it conducted 440 Community Clean-Up Campaigns.

The 17,000 Agents of the Metropolitan are 17,000 Champions of Community Cleanliness and Sanitation. Health Boards and civic bodies everywhere are calling on them for help in carrying on Clean-Up Days and Clean-Up Weeks.

Have a great Spring Cleaning in Your Town, too! Let the Metropolitan Agents in their daily round of visits to the homes of policyholders, help you to enlist your householders in the Campaign.

Don't wait to swat the fly—stamp out her breeding places. Keep highways and byways clean. Build a big Spring bonfire. Let it spread until the dirt from every corner is burned—not just moved from your premises to somewhere else.

Ask the Metropolitan Agent how to do your part. He will be glad to help you. The Company will be glad to send "Clean-Up" literature to public agencies, to town authorities and to householders.

HALEY FISKE, *President*

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Washington Beckons

The 50th Anniversary Session of the
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
Washington, D. C., May 16-23

Washington beckons --- *you* --- to a great conference. To a searching analysis of a half-century's work. To a fact-facing measuring of results. To a visualization of the jobs ahead and a search for tested and proved methods for carrying them into effect.

Every hour of the Conference---from the first "call to order" until adjournment on May 23---something vital, something you cannot afford to miss will be going on.

It will be a Conference of men and women from all parts of America and from several foreign countries, who have the courage to challenge their own formulae.

It will be a Conference aimed at a closer application of the principles of cooperation, of mutuality, of enthusiastic desire on the part of each to give impetus to the work of the other---a finer weaving of the woof and warp of this fabric called Social Work.

Washington beckons---*you*. It offers new friendships and a revival of the old; it will give you a birdseye view of the other fellow's experience and clarify the issues of future programs of work.

If you haven't received the Conference Program, send for it now. Make your arrangements as soon as possible---and go.

Special Railroad Rates

If you wish further information in regard to the Conference, railroad rates, hotel reservations, etc., write to the General Secretary and full particulars will be forwarded immediately.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
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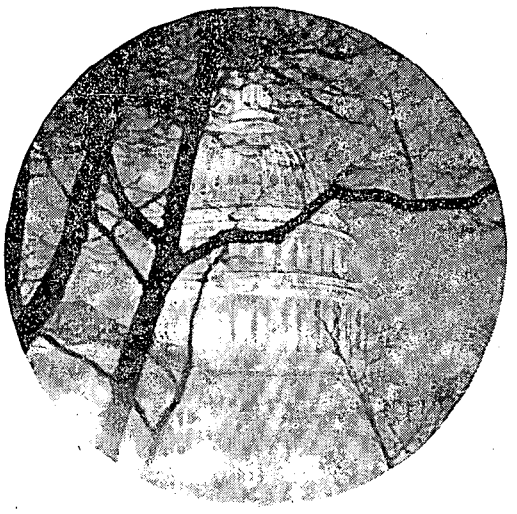

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A journal of social, civic and industrial welfare and the public health. Subscription, including the twelve Graphic numbers

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Vol. L, No. 3 — The Survey : Graphic Number — May 1, 1923

EDITORIAL luncheons are serious affairs at the best. But there was an air like a community funeral when the Managing Editor arose to remark that for the fiftieth anniversary of the National Conference of Social Work it behooved the members of the SURVEY staff to dig into their memories and excavate some reminiscences.

Not one could recall anything that had happened to him in 1873. In fact, few would confess to having been born so long ago, and those few had faded tintype recollections of themselves as precocious little fellows in rompers.

"Let's ask Uncle Alec Johnson," they all cried. "He must have been in long pants in 1873. We'll publish something from the book he's writing on his Adventures in Social Work." [page 153]

"What's more," said the M. E., "if we can't write reminiscences of the last fifty years of social work we will make some good guesses about the next fifty. Come now. Who'll put on the mantle?"

Haven Emerson, who had just returned from making his three hundred and sixtieth health survey, said it was simple; it was all a matter of states of mind, of applying the enthusiasm that has gone into fighting physical bugs to the conquest of mental bugs. "What we need," said this roving M. D., [but you'll find it all on page 129]

"If it's a matter of bugs," said Joseph K. Hart, looking up from the proofs of his forthcoming text book on sociology for innocent high school children, "I reckon I shall have to write the whole number. You know that little matter of community psychology falls in my department." [pages 166, 167]

"You may be the editor for educational prophetics," Geddes Smith chipped in, "but the whole community belongs to my department. Besides, it does not take a reformed pedagogue but an investigator of community enterprises to figure out what is going to happen when the community councils take counsel and the federations federate." [page 140]

"We must not forget that Americans, imported and domestic, are people before they are groups or communities," said Ruth Crawford. "The question is, shall our social work program of the next fifty years try to make all Americans a l i k e—pea-pod Americans—or shall it take people as it finds them with individual characters and ambitions?" [page 138]

At this point the Bruères, who had been surreptitiously studying a seed catalogue, awoke to the discussion. "Speaking of ambitions," said Robert, "how can a man have any ambition when he has worked at a monotonous job for ten hours a day for ten years? Social work in the last fifty years has been first remedial, then preventive. If it has any vitality it must now apply some of its high motives to remodeling industry so that men may become free." [page 133]

"The Supreme Court of the United States," said the Managing Editor, waving a newspaper, "certainly seems to believe in industrial liberty. In fact it has not changed its mind on anything in fifty years. But I should think it is the kind of liberty that social workers would not particularly care for."

"Let's ask Francis B. Sayre of the Harvard Law School to discuss it," some one suggested. "He is a lawyer with an eye for realities." [page 150]

"The trouble with all of you," said the M. E., "is that you can't think ahead. Your prophecies are either easy certainties that are bound to happen in the next few years or wild guesses that might come true any time from now to Kingdom Come. We ougnt to have a staff made up of H. G. Wells, Edward Bellamy, Amos and the Weather Man. Come on now. Let's get ourselves into a frame of mind and imagine we are sitting down to an editorial meeting in 1973. What would we be likely to talk about?" [page 143]

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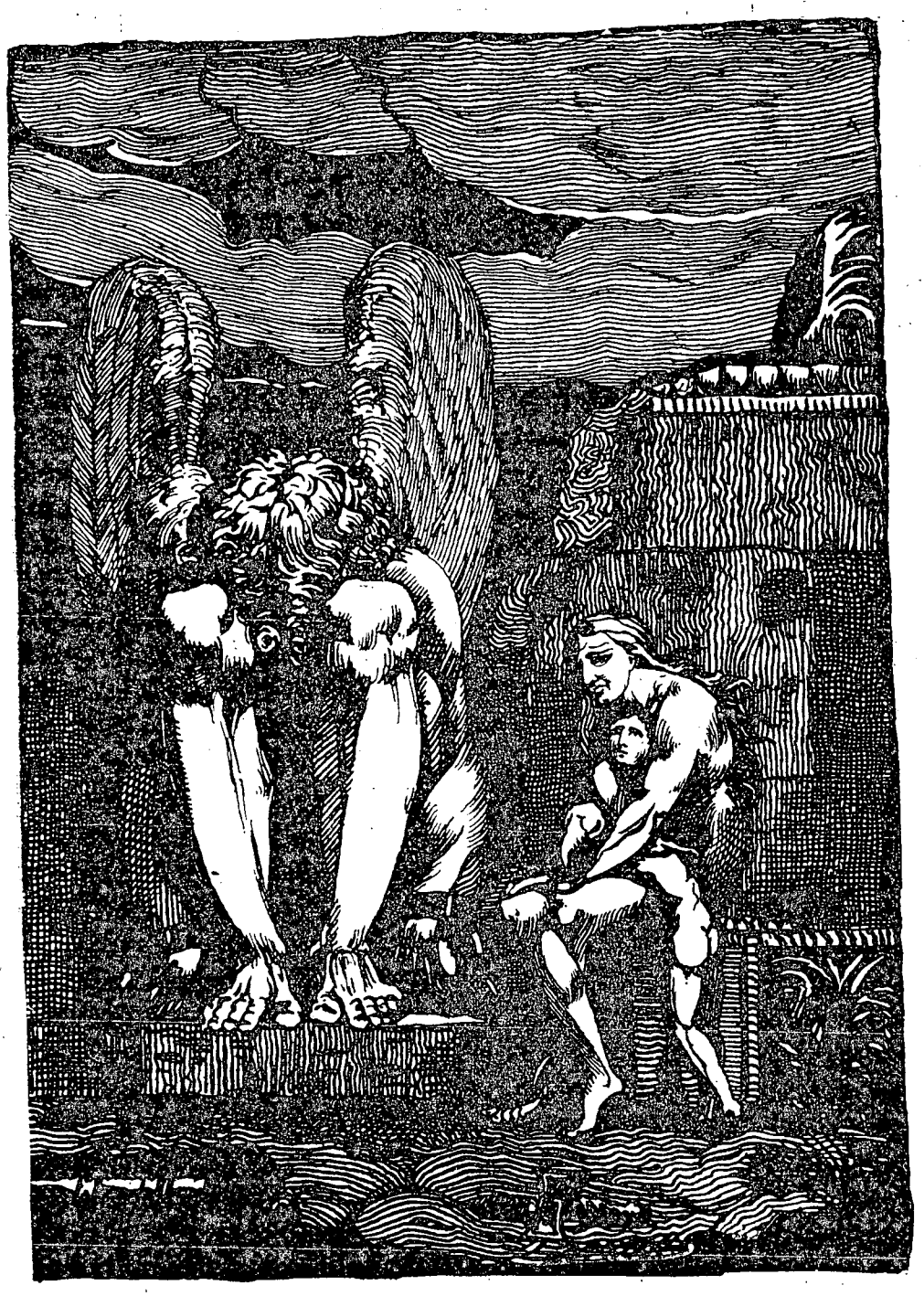

TOWARDS FULFILLMENT

Frontispiece (above), title page (to the right) and one of the pages (turn over) of William Blake's poem, America—A Prophecy, illustrated, lithographed and published by himself in London, 1793

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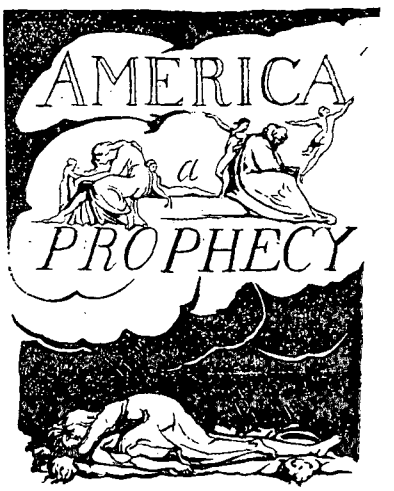

Sanitation and Sanity

By HAVEN EMERSON, M. D.

THE man who gave to others most generously for relief from poverty and ill health in all the world's history was Pasteur. Since he showed us the way to help ourselves unload the burdens of unnecessary disease we have, as it were, overladen knowledge with a vast store of facts ready to save us, and yet failed to release these same facts, our greatest resources for well-being, in a manner understandable by our whole company of peoples.

As Jaques told the Duke in Arden Forest,

> . . . give me leave
> To speak my mind and I will through and through,
> Cleanse the foul body of the infected world,
> If they will patiently receive my medicine.

But there is much speaking and little thinking. Much is offered to the unthinking and little of value taken. For fifty years we have with unexpected success waged a technical war against the single-celled organisms which chiefly cause the communicable diseases of man. For more than thirty years the disciples of Trudeau have spread the gospel of hope, the lesson of the laboratory, until now the oft-repeated warnings of the tuberculosis societies seem to the average traveler neither new nor news. "Communicable," "preventable," "curable" are ideas which nowadays, as often in the past, have developed plans of action among the thoughtful. These suggestions for relief from ancient scourges at once start a reaction which can be counted on in almost any community; and still indifference is the worst enemy of the crusader for health.

The so-called technique of approach to the public has been developed elaborately. Points of contact for starting propaganda have all been sharpened to the nth degree. Publicity has been swollen until information, advertisement and education have pretty much lost their distinctive meanings. The ease with which space is bought or bullied into the daily press, and the common substitution of near-truths and half-facts for the full-rounded and beautiful story of Nature and her struggles and laws have brought forth doubts and suspicions as to the disinterestedness and the veracity of the health column and the medical articles in the daily press. We must believe in one week of the year that cancer is the most prevalent, the most threatening, the most pitiable cause of death and, of course, in some cases preventable. Two months later we are set upon by the partisans of tuberculosis which, we are told, is the worst of man's enemies; and again a good story is made out for heart disease as the greatest killer of the decade. Then, according to our latitude, we are to know that scurvy or pellagra, malaria or hookworm infection is the superlative disease awaiting our attack. A lack of proportion, balance, emphasis is as dangerous in truth building as in bridge building, and we can no more carry a traffic span on one suspension cable than build a doorway to health with only one column to carry the lintel, or with columns of different heights.

Again, may I say, it is not lack of facts that is holding us back from further progress in reducing the great mass of preventable diseases. We have great triumphs to record; and many a table and graph will be built upon our past half-century of human salvaging. Indeed, we have proved again and again that we humans, as the last word in

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animal life, can adapt ourselves to almost any extremes of physical handicaps. We can survive the most insidious and minute of parasites; we may even exterminate from the realm of recorded life some that live by man alone.

Our uncompleted jobs remain to confute and confuse us in our moments of exaltation and confidence. Where is the bulk of the burden ahead?

First chronologically, if not actually first even now in direct and remote results, come the communicable diseases, with such malevolent invaders as the bacilli of typhoid, dysentery, diphtheria and tubercle, the spirochete of syphilis, the coccus of meningitis and gonorrhea, the plasmodium of malaria, the trypanosome of sleeping sickness, the hookworm, the ameba of dysentery, et al., against which almost all the efforts of official and non-official agencies have been directed in the past two generations. For the eradication of these we have pasteurized, sterilized, isolated, sanitated until we may perhaps have to have a closed season to preserve the remaining rare leptospira icteroides of yellow fever. The time may come when we may even drink from running brooks without fear of typhoid.

With the worst of this great group of destructive parasites we are successful enough to warrant high hopes for the future. With these we must also place the heart diseases, chiefly the weary end results of infections of other years, as certainly reducible as the latter are controllable.

Next come the diseases of our occupations, those clearly man-made calamities, of dust and fumes that cut and poison, of heat and darkness, of bent bodies and the various monotonies and fatigues of too long unrelieved and arbitrary hours of toil. Easily known, simply prevented. To see would be to correct—if the golden rule operated in the shop as urged upon us by Biblical precept.

Following hard on these long lists come the disorders of nutrition, the too much, and too little, and the not right kind of eating. Here, too, we lack but the spirit of open-mindedness, the elasticity of habit, which the crystal clarity of chemistry tries to show we must adopt or perish.

After these come the less numerous difficulties of inheritance that breed true as do our excellences from father to son. Developmental disturbances of function and structure, tolerable perhaps among kings but relentless handicaps among the lowly.

Then too, our own selves, always our worst enemies, our habits of indulgence that make us but brutish and numb to fine existence. Our poor inadequate personalities that crave the cup, that try to bluff the rough world into belief that we actually do amount to something, or else flaunt our indifference to opinion by the dull sleep of drugs. That great gesture of self-respect, the greatest contribution to preventive medicine since Pasteur's time, our eighteenth amendment, is the American answer. A non-alcoholized race or nation, an undrugged population, whether East or West, will by the very momentum of clean stock and conscious self-determination force imitation of good habits on competitors.

Of cancer we can but say that the search for truth, courage to face the facts with quick action and honesty of opinion will combine to show us the way through, even though so far our saving of lives in youth but adds to the harvest of this crabbed disorder of our cells among the mature and aged.

DOES not the residual burden come clearly before you? Have we not let the most precious wait until the last? Have we not, indeed, made too great our present labor because we have sought the substance and disregarded the spirit? Has it not been said that the essential distinction of man is his power of inhibition? Is it not our self-control, discrimination, judgment, imagination, emotion that makes it worth while to have a body at all, whether well or ill, straight or crooked, long-lived or short? Can there really be any difference in opinion as to what we must embark upon now to make the next cycle worthy of the last?

Was it not said truly by a prophet some fifty years ago, of our precious nation, "The healthy, the civil, the learned, the moral race—Nature herself only yields her secret to these. And the resources of America and its future will be immense only to wise and virtuous men." Wisdom and virtue! are these not indispensable for our very survival? Certainly we have reversed the project of philosophers and accomplished a great measure of industry and science, and some civic order, before we have attained the general distribution of intelligence or led our people to use and understand the power of their emotions.

For further progress we must await a solution not only from one profession giving its message in the form of health, a contrast with disease, but as the goal of all the community. No longer will protection be given *to* the people or be provided *for* them; but they themselves shall see the vision and attain it by their own volition. We have used the lingo of the marketplace and, though dealing with the very spark of life, have talked of the sale of ideas, the capitalizing of fears, of training middlemen to retail hopes to anxious mothers.

The campaigns until now have been chiefly medical, in the sense of the Latin *medeor,* I heal or cure. The progress in health for the future will be by inspiration, reaching all classes. These wars will be to save the spirit of man. Remember the spirit is the breath of life, "an intelligent being imperceptible to the senses," the soul of man. We must have a schooling for our emotions as in the past we have tried to provide it for the intelligence. The mind of man is worth the saving, and it will not be done by vaccines or vitamines alone.

The intoxication of our success in the natural sciences has betrayed us into a disregard and neglect of "the impulses and resources and the needless and fatal repressions" of man.

We may agree with Dr. Johnson that "every man is a rascal as soon as he is sick," or that "a depression of spirits develops the germs of a plague in individuals and nations." Body and mind are reciprocals. Look about you and believe with me that

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the greater evil, the heaviest brake on the wheels of happiness are the disorders of the mind, the errors of the emotions. "The Furies are the bonds of Men."

A few indispensables appear for the campaign of the community for mental health:

1. A wish to better human relations;
2. A training in thought and emotion, and their expression, in place of memory and mimicry;
3. A pride in the early detection of error of mind and its performance equal at least to our present satisfaction in catching tuberculosis or cancer in the curable stage;
4. Liberation of our schools for children, our colleges for grown-ups, our professions of medicine and nursing from fear to face a bruised mind, a broken spirit with the same courage and resourcefulness they now spend lavishly yet not excessively, on crooked legs and lame lungs.

Though there is no army as yet for this campaign, there are the leaders. While we are without a strategy, we have our objectives. Psychology and psychiatry between them will lead us to mental health as physiology and bacteriology have given us the means of protecting bodily health — but we must desire a mental and emotional health and strength and be prepared to make sacrifices for it.

CAN it be that another fifty years shall see us housing in prisons, asylums and shamefaced homes throughout our country an army of sick and ailing minds, more numerous than those who crowd our hospitals for all the bodily sicknesses? The good of investment for prevention by early diagnosis and appropriate protection for mentality and character reconstruction should be so easily grasped by a country educated in tuberculosis control that no great obstacle can appear to delay our immediate onslaught upon what is truly the last unraveled tangle of human handicaps, mental disease and emotional instability.

Does not the field of mental health offer a point of common interest and common service for the partisans of all the special defects of the body? Surely nothing is more communicable than bad example, or false precept. Is not the epidemiology of suppressed emotions as tempting as that of diphtheria? Do we not find that outbreaks of hysteria have been as devastating to school attendance as sore throats?

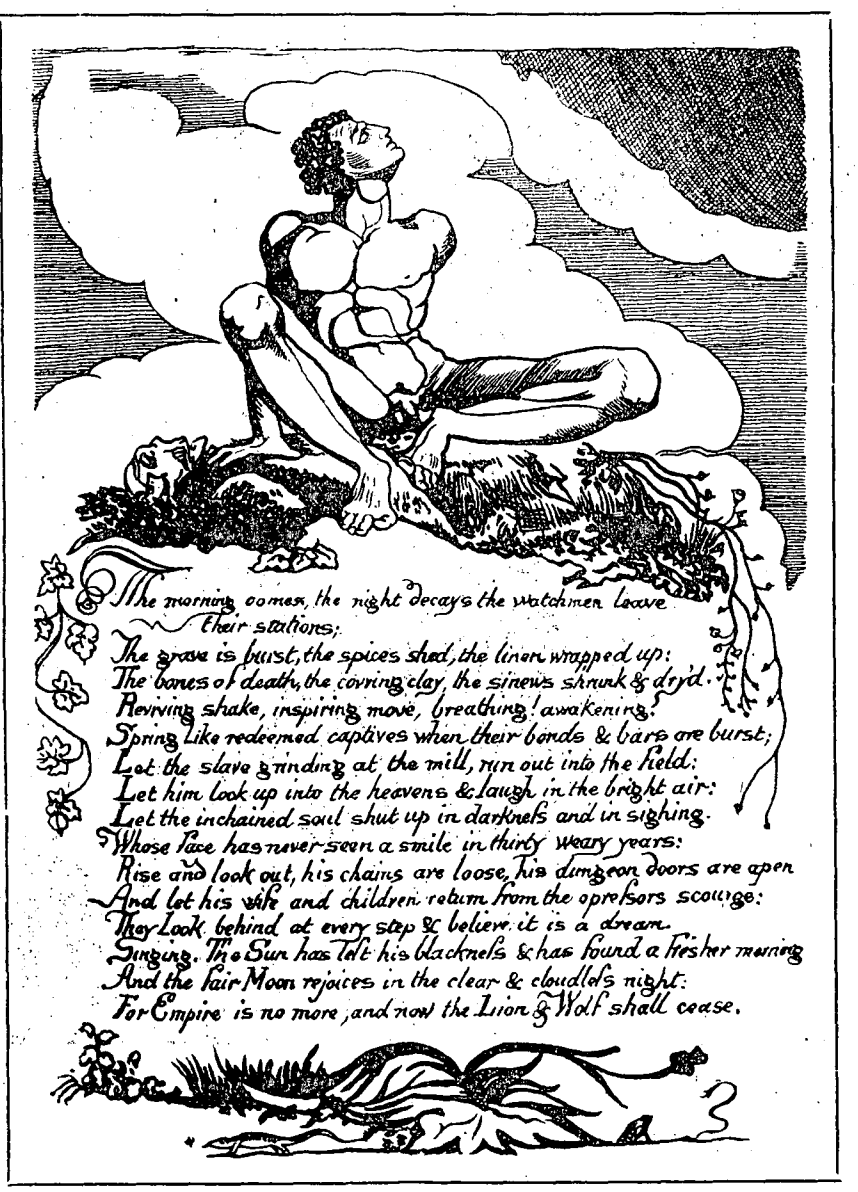
Do not the employment problem, the shop turnover in "hiring and firing" depend largely upon the restlessness of unstable mental and emotional reactions to some or all kinds of work? Are we not causing as well as curing mental disease by the conditions of labor and industry? Are not some attitudes of mind towards work as serious a cause of disability as are bad positions of body at the worktable?

And in the field of nutrition, does not the use of foods, the appetite, depend upon the cheerfulness of the eater, the server, the sharer in the meal?

Inheritance and habitual reactions to human relations, and our daily needs and lacks, surely share with mere physical environment the responsibility for most of our ills. To use sanitation and disregard sanity is but half-witted on our part.

Let us join the resources of all sciences, natural and social, together with the results of all previous efforts for wellbeing, in the campaign for conserving the precious gifts of the mind which set us and our children apart from other products of creation.

We dare not let another celebration mark a half-century of social progress without a record of spiritual salvaging and reconstruction in some way comparable to our material triumphs since 1873.


The morning comes, the night decays the watchmen leave their stations;
The grave is burst, the spices shed, the linen wrapped up:
The bones of death, the covering clay, the sinews shrunk & dry'd.
Reviving shake, inspiring move, breathing! awakening.
Spring like redeemed captives when their bonds & bars are burst;
Let the slave grinding at the mill, run out into the field:
Let him look up into the heavens & laugh in the bright air:
Let the inchained soul shut up in darkness and in sighing.
Whose face has never seen a smile in thirty weary years:
Rise and look out, his chains are loose, his dungeon doors are open
And let his wife and children return from the oppressors scourge:
They look behind at every step & believe it is a dream.
Singing. The Sun has left his blackness & has found a fresher morning
And the fair Moon rejoices in the clear & cloudless night:
For Empire is no more, and now the Lion & Wolf shall cease.

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LABOR

A Statue by G. de Groot in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris

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The Main Business of Industry

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

FOURTEEN years after the Pittsburgh Survey was made, a committee of the Federated American Engineering Societies published an elaborate study of the Twelve-Hour Shift in Industry. The Pittsburgh Survey was the joint enterprise of representatives of practically every division of social work. It focused the experience of a generation of pioneers upon the most typical of our American industrial communities. It was a searching inductive appraisal of the human consequences of the Industrial Revolution under the intensely dynamic conditions of American life. One of its immediate concrete results was the establishment of the Cabot Fund, which was directly inspired by the republication in Collier's Weekly of the story of Painters' Row. The engineers' study of the Twelve-Hour Shift in Industry, the steel industry in particular, was financed by the Cabot Fund. On the question of the long day the engineers have come abreast of the Pittsburgh Survey; they have added an invaluable contribution by showing the practical steps by which it can be abolished. Nevertheless, the contrast between the point of view and philosophy of the Pittsburgh Survey, made in 1908, and the point of view of the engineers' study, published in 1922, offers a measure of progress and an index to the problem before us.

The author of the engineers' general inquiry into the extent of the twelve-hour shift in continuous process industries opens his report with this statement: "The people of the United States realize today more clearly than ever before that the main business and obligation of industry is to produce goods, and to produce them at as low a cost and in as great abundance as possible." He then adds that, important as the production of goods obviously is, the effect of industry upon those who labor is "hardly less vital." The prime emphasis upon the production of cheap and abundant goods is significant. At the close of the field work in 1908, Edward T. Devine summed up the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey under eight headings. The last two sentences of this summary were these: "Certainly no community before in America or Europe has ever had such a surplus, and never before has a great community applied what it had so meagerly to the rational purposes of human life. Not by gifts of libraries, galleries, technical schools, and parks, but by the cessation of toil one day in seven and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, by the increase of wages, by the sparing of lives, by the prevention of accidents, and by raising the standards of domestic life, should the surplus come back to the people of the community in which it was created." The engineers find that in some forty or fifty continuous industries, while the seven-day week has been very generally abandoned, between one-third and one-half of all workers engaged in continuous processes—some 300,000 out of a total estimated somewhere between 500,000 and 1,000,000—are on shifts averaging twelve hours. Especially in the steel mills, the twelve-hour shift persists. These figures sharpen the contrast between Dr. Devine's statement, typical of the social worker's point of view, and the statement quoted from the engineers' report.

What is the main business and obligation of industry? Is it the production of cheap and abundant goods or the satisfaction of human wants, the liberation of men? To answer that the accumulation of an economic surplus is fundamental to the advance of civilization, and to say that alone, is to beg the question. Every one is agreed that economic security is essential. The propositions are not mutually exclusive. The problem is one of emphasis. For to produce a surplus greater than any community in the world has ever before known and to use it with such disregard of the rational purposes of human existence as to create dependency, disease, a starved physical and spiritual life, class hatreds at home and war among the nations, is not to promote civilization but rather to intensify barbarism.

In the fourteen years since the Pittsburgh Survey was made, many of the grosser evils of irrational industrialism have been ameliorated. There has been an abatement of work accidents, due in part to welfare campaigns, safety-first drives and engineering research, but principally to public intervention through compulsory compensation which has shifted the economic burden of accidents from the home to industry. Housing reform has done away with the worst of our slums. Private and public agencies have made infant and child life more secure and checked the ravages of tuberculosis. Child-labor laws and laws regulating the work hours of women have eased the pressure of industrial exploitation at some of the sorest spots.

These Things Are Not Enough

But like the gifts of libraries, galleries, technical schools and parks, these things are not enough. Industrial unrest continues, increases in volume and intensity. With an economic surplus greater than any nation ever had, America still feels the tremors of the European earthquake, amplified by industrial disturbances at home. The fact is patent that industry even in America satisfies neither the human wants of those engaged in it nor the wants of the consumers. Are they wrong who say that vast numbers, probably the majority of industrial workers,

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dislike the work they are compelled to do, and that this fact lies at the bottom not only of most unhappiness in modern life but also of most retardation in the spiritual progress of humanity? And if they are right in this, are they not also right in saying that this greatest of human problems cannot be solved by the amelioration of conditions outside of industry alone, but that even its proximate solution depends upon the redirection and reconstitution of industry itself?

The central concern of the social worker from the days of the volunteer friendly visitor to this day of the specialized professional expert has been the individual human being—the release of the individual from the inherited and environmental handicaps that frustrate his fulfillment as an individual and his development as a member of the social group. Beginning with the relief of the most exigent cases of destitution, social workers have steadily widened the field of their interests to housing, health, education, the courts—all of those community institutions whose relevancy to poverty and the human incidents of poverty are manifest. With the development of psychopathology and the subtler outreachings of applied psychology, they have increasingly brought these new instrumentalities to bear upon the problem of individual rehabilitation and release. In the field of industry especially, they have driven forward these parallel and supplemental lines of attack. The Pittsburgh Survey stands as a classic not only because it epitomized the progress of social work in its time but also because it revealed with a new vividness how central the modern industrial machine is to all the problems confronting the social worker—how basic the facts of industrial ownership, organization and management are to the life of the individual. Against the background of exhausting hours, low wages, absentee ownership, slums, preventable accidents, a needlessly brutalized citizenship, it raised with challenging frankness the question as to whether the main business and obligation of industry is, indeed, the production of goods at as low a cost and in as great abundance as possible. For what is a man advantaged if he gain the whole world and lose himself?

The Social Worker's Concern with Industry

Increasingly, therefore, in the name of the preeminent worth of the individual personality, and not in the name of class conflict, the social workers have drawn their lines about the strongholds of machine industry. Successively they have attacked child labor, the destructive exploitation of women, insanitary and debasing factory conditions, industrial accidents, specific industrial diseases.

In his address before the National Conference of Charities and Correction held in Boston in June, 1911, Louis D. Brandeis lifted into sharp relief what social workers were beginning to see as the necessary next steps in their reformative campaign. "American democracy," Mr. Brandeis said, "rests upon the basis of the free citizen. We accord (to the men) universal suffrage. We urge strenuously upon every voter the duty of exercising this right. We insist that the voter should exercise it in the interest of others as well as of himself. We give thus to the citizen the rights of a free man. We impose upon him a duty that can be entrusted with safety only to free men. Politically the American workingman is free, so far as law can make him so. But is he really free? Can any man be really free who is constantly in danger of becoming dependent for mere subsistence upon somebody and something else than his own exertion and conduct? Men are not free while financially dependent upon the will of other individuals.". . . What then was the way to freedom? Mr. Brandeis cited President Cleveland's epigram that it is the duty of the citizen to support the government, not of the government to support the citizen; to which he answered that if the government permits conditions to exist which make large classes of citizens financially dependent, the great evil of dependence should at least be minimized by the state's assuming, or causing to be assumed by others in some form, the burden incident to its own shortcomings. He proposed a comprehensive system of social insurance for the protection of the wage-earner in case of invalidity, superannuation or unemployment, and of the widows and orphans left helpless by the premature death of husband or father. He suggested the advantages of employers' mutual compensation insurance companies after the model of the "factory mutuals" that had been so successful in rendering property secure from the risks of fire. But by implication, though not by explicit statement, he took the position that in default of other adequate remedy, the state itself, as in the cases of France, Austria, Germany and England, must take up the business of social insurance. This declaration that the time had come when social workers must use the instrumentalities of politics and government to stop the human wastes of industry, even to the extent of forcing the state to infringe the domain of private business enterprise, still had a certain revolutionary ring in 1911.

Since then, the principle for which Mr. Justice Brandeis contended has received all but universal recognition and acceptance. Not all states have workmen's accident compensation laws, but the number is rounding out to completion; unemployment insurance still lies mainly in the future, but it is debated from the point of view of expediency and practical statesmanship rather than as a question of principle. The battle still needs to be waged along these lines. As in the case of the attack upon primary poverty, the exploitation of women and children, and the insufficiencies of public education, the stakes yet to be won are of incalculable importance. But with social insurance as with all forms of charitable relief, our experience, the experience of Europe certainly, is ample to show that these things alone will not set the individual free. Not social workers only, but employers and industrial managers also, have come to recognize that it is because of the invidious class implications of social insurance that the workers, the organized wage-workers especially, have remained hostile to all forms of social insurance except workmen's compensation. They

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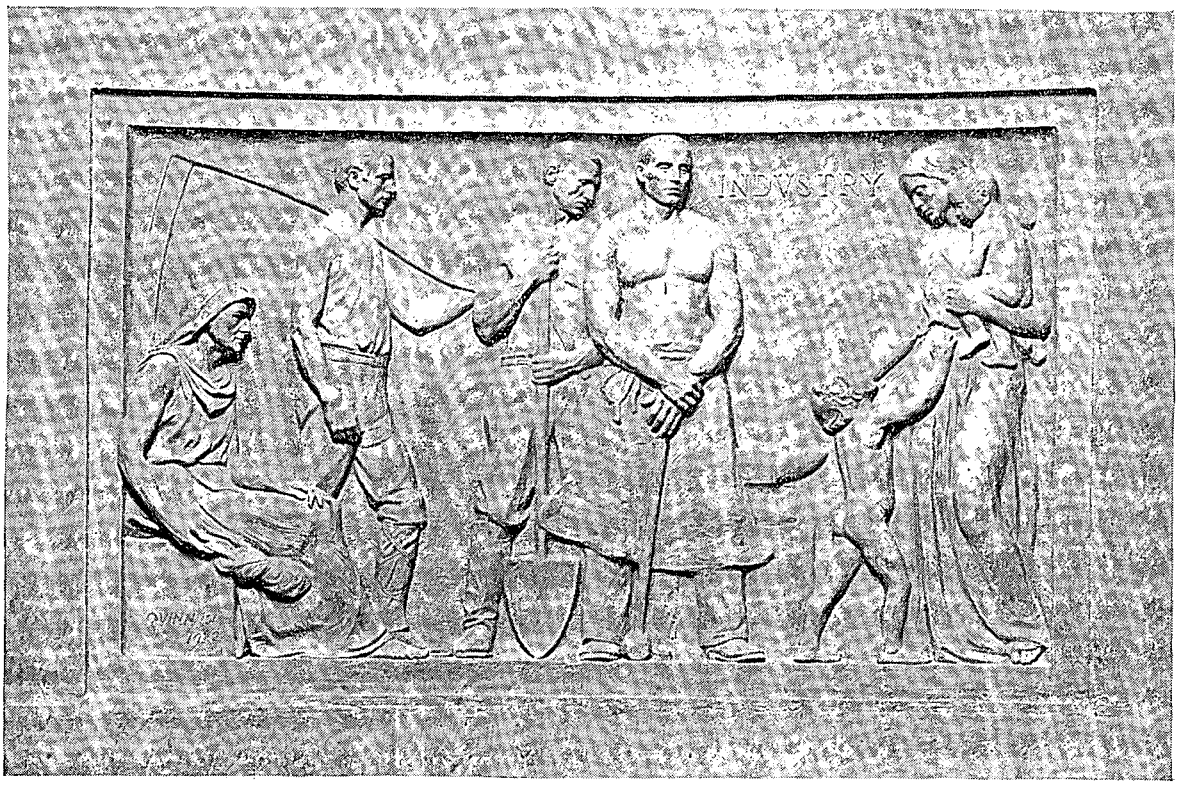
prefer to help themselves, however inadequately, to having their condition improved by others, even by the state. It is only in countries where the manual workers have organized for the political control of the state that they have fully accepted the principle of social insurance along comprehensive lines. For them the main obligation of business is not to produce cheap and abundant goods, even when by a system of pensions in the event of sickness, unemployment or death, they are protected as servants of industry against financial dependence.

There is a subtler and more fundamental element in the problem of individual freedom than any that can be expressed in terms of finance. Women, particularly, who ponder the passage quoted from Justice Brandeis' 1911 address will sense what that element is. "We accord (to the men) universal suffrage." Those three words in parenthesis are highly significant for the light they throw on the problem. Writing in December 1922, Harold J. Laski, formerly of Harvard University, says: "It has become finally clear that the release of the individual is utterly impossible so long as the control of industry is confided to a small number of men whose decisions need not take account of the wills of those who work under them. . . . . The worker cannot respect the obligations of citizenship if he is simply an unreflecting unit in the production system." The status of the wage-workers in industry today is substantially identical with the political status of women before they were enfranchised. The more the workers are freed, or win freedom from financial handicaps, the more acutely do they feel the spiritual handicap of their inferior industrial status. No amount of swagger about one man being as good as another, no amount of hokum about the nobility of labor will satisfy the soul of men as a substitute for industrial enfranchisement, any more than the persiflage of anachronistic chivalry satisfied the soul of unenfranchised women. This is a major cause of what is commonly called industrial unrest whose incidents are as demoralizing and socially destructive as those of poverty itself. Recognition of its importance as an element in the problem of human liberation has led not only to the establishment of training courses in industrial psychology and employment administration by schools of social work, but also to the introduction of all manner of experimental forms of so-called industrial democracy in an increasing number of industrial establishments. The trade-union movement is essentially and fundamentally an expression of revolt against this spiritual handicap of inferior status.

Social work has its roots in the Christian doctrine —the democratic doctrine—that all men are brothers and equal in the sight of their Creator. Step by step, the pursuit of human liberation has led social workers from casework among the indigent through welfare legislation into the heart of industrial government. The problem there is one of research, interpretation, education. In their study of the twelve-hour shift, the engineers found an "unbelievable lack of knowledge; there are no statistics covering the matter of shift-work, nor has the government or any other agency collected figures which show the number of twelve-hour workers." Even managers in continuous process plants lacked information about shift operations in other plants in the same industry. Labor leaders were equally ignorant. Industry which conceives its main business and obligation to be the production of cheap and abundant goods, has sought "not the

(*Continued on page* 171)



Industry—one of two panels by Edmond Quinn for the rotunda of the Hartford Fire Insurance Building in Hartford, Connecticut

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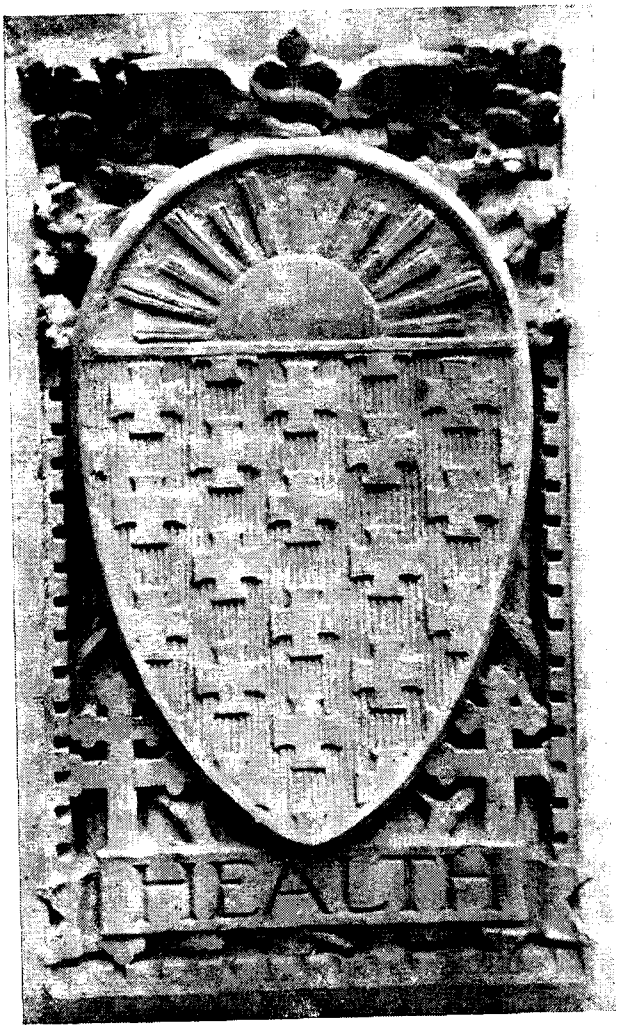

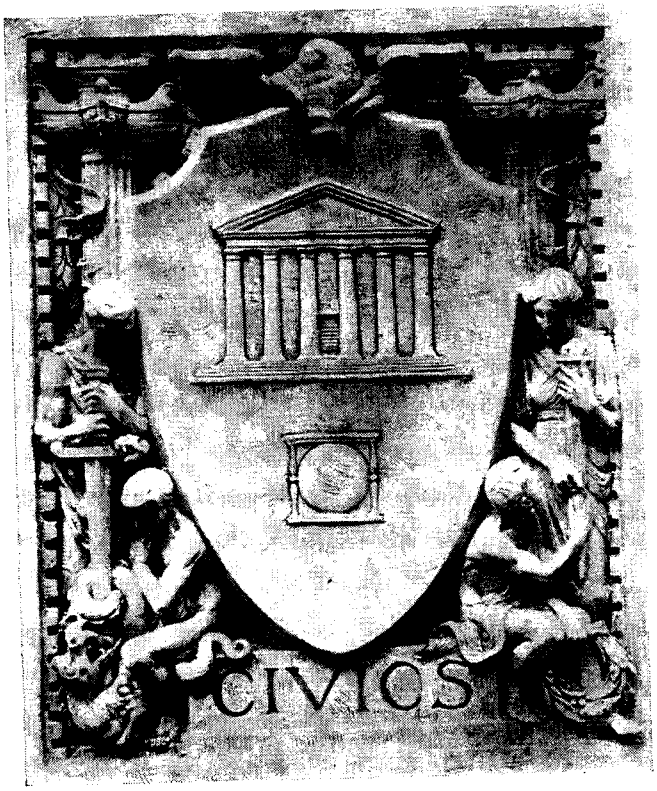

A Sermon

The stone panels here reproduced have lately been added to the facade of the Russell Sage Foundation Building in New York. They were modelled by René P. Chambellan from designs by Grosvenor Atterbury, the architect, and are the first symbolical representations of modern social work in sculpture. Incidentally, these stones, successful as they are as decorations, exemplify the difficulty of

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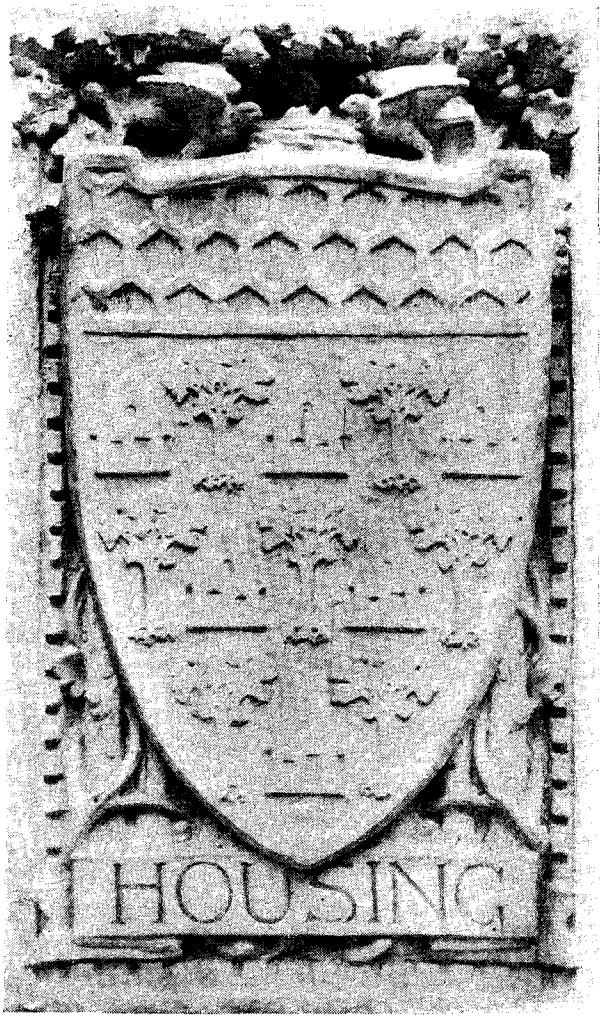
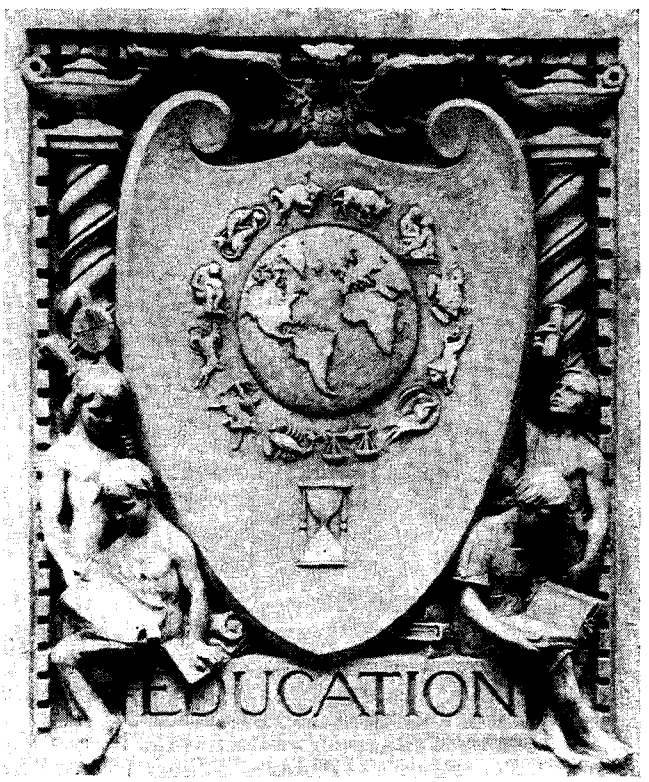


in Stones

depicting the spirit of social work in a way easy to be understood. The old symbols will no longer do; and we are still a long way from a clear enough conception of our aims to be able to express them briefly yet comprehensively. Let the reader take out his pencil and try to represent in a simple design the salient elements in the fields of social work here represented, or others such as charity or correction!



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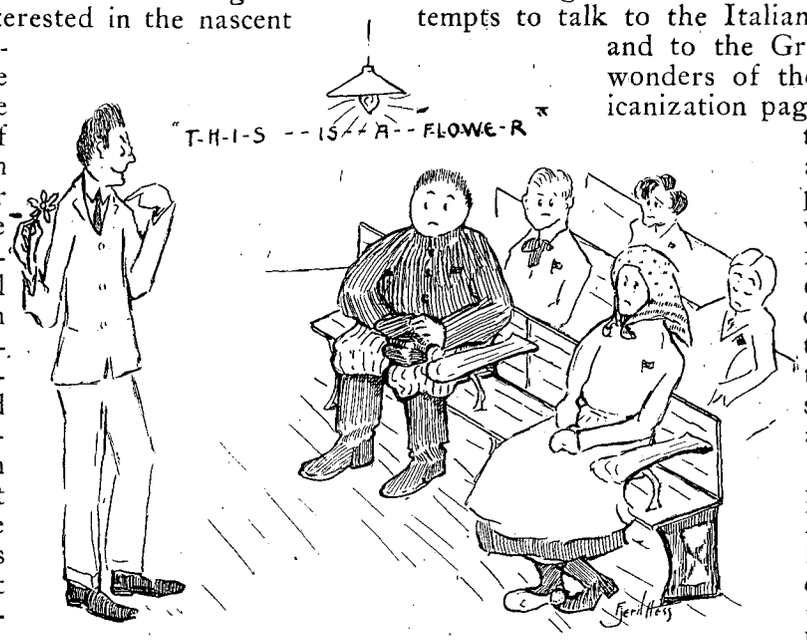
Chips of Many Blocks

By RUTH CRAWFORD

Illustrations by Fjeril Hess

WE Americans are good-hearted. We are also provincial. What we think today about European newcomers in this country is a product of our good-heartedness and our provinciality, somewhat complicated by remnants of war psychology and current traditional prejudices.

Most of us have quite forgotten how in the early days of the war residents of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, whatever their race, were viewed askance as alien enemies. Then we heard of the Mid-European Union. The struggle of the "suppressed nationalities" kindled our imagination. We became interested in the nascent republics and the lesser folk of Europe just about the time that the necessities of our own liberty loan campaigns and other patriotic efforts were forcing us to take cognizance of the racial minorities in our own country. A sentimental interest in the immigrant's background and practical concentration on getting him Americanized went hand in hand. The foreign-language press in America, at first rigidly censored, became an accepted medium for reaching the great population groups which could not read English. We put the facts about the war as the government saw them, the facts of the draft, the loans, the Red Cross, into foreign tongues; but simultaneously we spread the slogan "Teach the foreigner English," so that we might not have to rely on these second-hand methods of telling the American story.



"If you want to be good Americans, watch my lips!"

Night schools were granted increased appropriations. Factory classes multiplied. Immigrant women were visited in their homes by patriotic ladies who organized English classes so that American letters might be written to soldier husbands and sons. A special section of the Intelligence Department was created to handle the foreign-born draft—as we are now reminded by too frequent discussions of the army intelligence tests and their crude evaluation of immigrant brains. How seriously we took the teaching of English! It seemed to offer a short cut to Americanization.

After the armistice the evolution of suppressed nationalities into enthusiastic young republics brought us face to face with the need for wholesale geographical re-education. We bought new maps of Europe and searched for Latvia and Esthonia and Ruthenia. We listened eagerly while Kenneth Roberts described Czecho-Slovakia—"the sole of a frayed rubber tennis shoe in the center of Europe." Our slogan became "study racial backgrounds," and courses in racial backgrounds flourished in women's clubs, church societies and sociology departments.

In our good-heartedness we made sincere attempts to talk to the Italian grocer about Dante and to the Greek bootblack of the wonders of the Parthenon. Americanization pageants swept the country. We admired peasant costumes; we applauded the folk songs which had been carefully rehearsed for our benefit. We proceeded to discover all that we could about the strangeness of the stranger in our midst, and to exploit it.

These valiant efforts to connect every Pole with Pulaski or Kozciusko, and to fit every Serbian girl into an embroidered background, were natural enough. When we travel abroad we profit at times from the fame of Lincoln, and Henry Ford, and perhaps Charlie Chaplin. But too many of our generalized conceptions have been colored by the fact that in our lifetime immigrants have been largely peasant peoples from countries where modern civilization had hardly touched the peasant. A young graduate of the University of Prague confessed to an American friend that she was always ill at ease in American society: "People look at me as though they were surprised that I know how to manage the fork as well as the knife. I have the feeling that the American thinks that at home I wear the peasant handkerchief and that it is only here that I have put on the blouse and suit."

A year or so ago a party was given in a small American city to all the French war brides. The atmosphere was so stiff and formal that the hostess,

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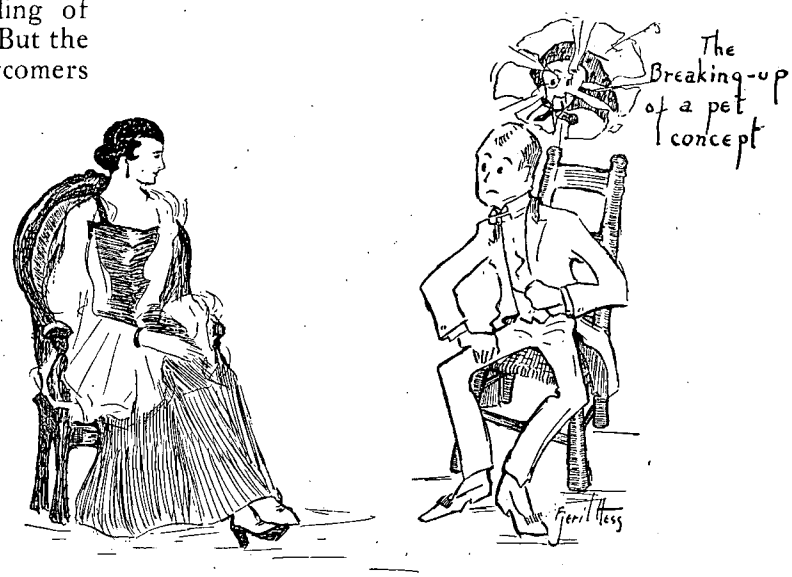
an unusually observing young woman, asked one of them for an explanation. "Why," she naively replied, "it is to be expected. Just that we are French does not mean that we are of the same society and desire to be friends."

The English language is undoubtedly needed as a medium of intercourse. The understanding of racial backgrounds does help in approach. But the evolution of our attitude toward these newcomers must remain incomplete until the only natural and lasting relationship is reached—that of mutual interest in matters of common concern; in art as art, in banking as banking, in children as healthy youngsters, not as little carriers of racial traits. "Don't talk to me as a Pole," the secretary of a consulate was heard to exclaim, "talk to me as a human being, one man to another."

The ever unrolling drama of America's making continues. We have almost forgotten, in our preoccupation with peasant groups, the immigration of German intellectuals in the 40's, which brought to our cities and the rural West thoughtful men and women of high ideals and attainments, men and women who found their places in this country in a fashion which thoroughly impressed upon the United States—except for the brief period of war hysteria—the desirability of immigration from Germany.

We are witnessing what may be a remarkable parallel to the gift which the German intellectuals—refugees from autocratic Prussian rule—brought with them fifty years ago. For over three years the Russian colony in New York City has steadily increased. Family after family of the intelligentsia, after years of penniless suffering in some European refugee camp, achieves a steerage passage to America, perhaps by the sale of the last family heirloom. The League of Nations, which has assumed the responsibility for the evacuation of Russian refugees from Constantinople, the American Relief Administration, the Red Cross, and individual Americans are ready to aid many of the most talented, the best educated Russians to reach this country. [At the date of publication the Russian quota for 1923 is exhausted, and 125 Russian engineers, doctors, and lawyers, with their families, are detained on Ellis Island.]



Mr. One Hundred Percent is amazed to find the "foreigner" dresses as well as his wife, and is a better conversationalist. He thought all foreigners wore handkerchiefs on their heads

Russian institutions come with them: in what is left to them of life the one thing which seems worth working for is the preservation for the world of the old Russian culture. They first challenge respect, and then—though they have no English, though we have but little knowledge of old Russian backgrounds and great fear of modern Russian foregrounds—they stimulate a desire for exchange, sweeping away, as a myth, the assumption of Nordic superiority!

Are we not standing on the threshold of a new era—America's entry into the cultured citizenship of the world? Pioneer America has vanished. Expanding America, that had no time for the arts, is disappearing. We travel more and more. Cosmopolitan Americans, who see in an international exchange of culture what Brandes has said will be America's greatest gift to the world—a culture that is the heir of all the ages and all the nations—have been ploughing the soil for many years. Seed has been quietly sown by individual European visitors of every nationality. Who can measure the influence of the seven thousand foreign students in our universities and colleges, mingling freely with the American leaders of tomorrow? We are gradually ridding ourselves of war-time fears. Provincial prejudices must go too, and cosmopolitan intelligence be added to our good-heartedness. If we Americans must have a slogan let it be "Civilizations are many, but man is one."

The meeting is sure to be a success if there are plenty of national costumes on the platform. The chairman knows all about immigration—she has a Swedish cook

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Suppose *Everybody* Cared

By GEDDES SMITH

OUT of a tiny mining town in British Columbia, incredibly remote from the huddled headquarters of the community welfare agencies in New York, there comes to my desk now and then a neighborhood journal. It contained not long ago a spirited editorial on "getting together" from which I quote:

> Did it ever occur to you, Mr. Man, that this community, with its many advantages, might be a still better place to sojourn in than it really is if the majority of us were only imbued with the desire to cooperate with each other in providing ways and means of relaxation for the general welfare?

I take the naive question for the text of this rambling conjectural prophecy because the thought of "relaxation for the general welfare" contrasts so pleasantly with the burly-burly of our community effort today, and suggests a golden age of spontaneity toward which I should like to think we are moving.

We are in the midst of a hectic development of executive and publicity technique. Organizations spawn on every hand. We are enmeshed with intertwining programs till we find ourselves in the pitiful condition of that respected queen who, according to Vachel Lindsay's latest impertinence, "wore a hair-net over her mind." On the face of things even our effort to pull our communities together looks like the piling of Pelion on Ossa. The little fleas which each had littler fleas to bite 'em were not more feverishly active than the little committees which have bigger committees to coordinate them.

In our nervous fatigue as lay and professional workers for social betterment and community wholeness, we have but one hope: that some day we shall escape from the strain of promotion; from the thankless task of trying to get one set of people to finance our ideas and another set to live by them; from the struggle to impose the foresight of a minority on the inertia of the majority. Some day we shall start a movement that will go on of itself. We shall arouse a community to the point where it ceases to talk about cooperation and really cooperates. We shall even teach it to forget the jargon we have invented and become communal in fact rather than in name. In a word, we shall touch the springs of human behavior instead of merely jiggling the hands on the dial.

There are still philanthropic romanticists who say that the way to do all this is to scrap our organizations. One of them works in the office next to mine. He hates organizations; he believes in primitive individual altruism; he deprecates coordination and positively hates the community chest and all that it signifies, regarding it merely as one more devilish modern invention to stifle unspoiled human neighborliness.

For myself, I believe that through organization we are freeing ourselves from organizations. I have no faith that we shall be able to do without them. There are two targets at which the giver aims: his own satisfaction and his neighbor's good. If he is seeking only his own salvation, he can give as he likes, fancy-free. If he really wants to heal the maimed, the halt and the blind, he needs help. There must be some factual approach and a modicum of scientific equipment. But we have carried the organization of philanthropy a bit too far. There have been so many varieties of scientific approach, each embodied in a neat letter-head, that the giver's mind has been cluttered up and his altruistic impulse has trickled away into all manner of fragmentary expressions. The popularity of the community chest may be due in some part to the fact that it restores charity to a broad, simple emotional wholeness. In spite of the honest effort of the stronger chests to secure constructive and educational publicity, the work of fifty or a hundred agencies is in effect blended into a single appeal: "Suppose nobody cared?" "Have a heart." With a large gesture the bank president writes a check that releases at a stroke his dammed-up altruism; with the same sense of dealing directly with human need the seamstress

THE APPEAL TO PITY

So long as large sums of money to relieve destitution have to be raised on a community-wide basis, such appeals as this are inevitable. This poster comes from the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies

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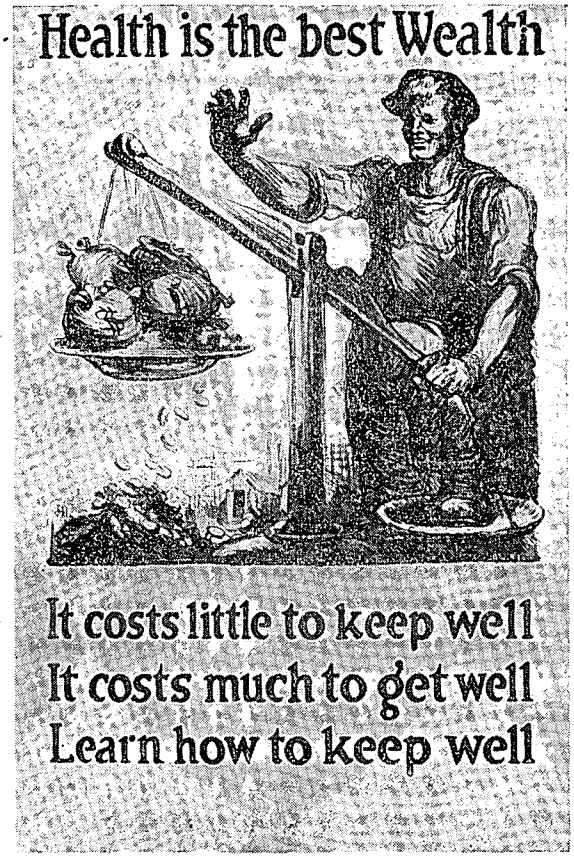
slips her pledge into the collector's hand. By organizing the organizations you have eliminated them from the picture; you have substituted a forest for the trees; you have reduced the contributor's problem to a scale where his conscience and his emotions can comfortably deal with it.

The unifying process which eases the giver's mind tends also to solidify the multifarious programs of the several agencies into something like a coherent whole. An alert council of social agencies soon passes beyond the point at which the social program of a city is seen merely as the sum of the work of the participating societies. There begins to emerge, after study and experiment, a norm which represents the sum total of the routine services required by the community: a sort of balanced ration of beneficence.

In determining this norm some slight share of influence falls to a part of the community which has never had much to say about such programs before: those on the margin between giving and receiving. As the subscription lists are pushed farther and farther into the small income groups, the prejudices and dissatisfactions of the beneficiaries of social service begin to be of some importance to the promoter. Even so slight a veto power as the disgruntled hospital patient exercises in his own neighborhood is felt when philanthropic finance becomes a matter of house-to-house solicitation. And, still more important, these new contributors are introduced to a share in an elaborate social mechanism which has hitherto been almost exclusively the property of the well-to-do.



THE APPEAL TO SELF-HELP

This poster of the Life Extension Institute is addressed to the workers. Some unions — notably in the needle crafts through the Board of Sanitary Control — operate complex health services for their own members

When social work is standardized and unified, and the givers and takers begin to be mixed together, the signs point to municipal operation. It would be a rash government which attempted to take over the disorderly jumble of competing agencies in an unorganized town. But it is not too great a strain on the imagination to foresee the day when the ordered structure which Detroit or Cleveland or Cincinnati is shaping, in which a great part of the electorate already feels a species of ownership, might be taken over by a better-than-ordinary government with a fair chance of success. This will not happen in a decade, or in two; it may in five.

Whether this happens or not, the community will pay the penalty of wholesale financing. The rigidity that we fear in public operation is not necessarily to be avoided by keeping social work in private hands. Majorities are rarely experimental or adventurous in temper. Standards tend to solidify. Your community must unite on the highest common factor of its component groups. The community chest cannot afford even now to take chances with causes which jeopardize its popularity. The successors to the men who now wrestle whole-heartedly with public opinion, because they are pioneers, are likely to be men who accept a successful formula and perpetuate a standardized program. The inertia of repetition lies in wait for any group effort; new brooms wear away. It would be idle to hope that this or any other form of organization will keep fully abreast of advancing thought on social questions, much less that it will encourage and support that free experimentation which must go on continuously if the new problems of the day after tomorrow are to be solved. Rather is it likely that aside from the normal activities which are embedded in the regular chest or municipal program a new crop of uncoordinated efforts will appear and new committees will scramble for minority support in the old-fashioned way. The pendulum is pretty certain to swing between correlation and variation in the future, just as it has in the past.

But let us get back to the contributor, whom we left in the act of working off his altruism by an annual subscription. No matter who runs the philanthropic apparatus, he will for the most part be freed of direct contact with individual social agencies, to say nothing of the individual case. Will he rest content with paying his "heart tax" year after year? I believe not. You have taken the novelty, the variety, the surprise out of giving. It is difficult to feel the same degree of emotion at each repetition of the appeal. Some of the more far-sighted community organizers already admit that the saturation point in voluntary giving is not far off. After a dozen campaigns the emotional difference between making one's pledge to the community chest and paying one's taxes will largely disappear.

But the altruistic impulse is not going to be thwarted. Already those organizations which capitalize optimism and make a fetich of decency are beginning to nibble away at philanthropy from the individual approach. Take your Boy Scout who

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has been taught to do his good turn a day, not so much for the sake of the beneficiary as to feed his standardized ideal. Graduate him into Rotary or Kiwanis. Is he going to sate his soul with an annual donation? Never in the world. He will do his duty by the town, but then he will have his own fun. He is going to buy crutches for Jimmy. He will pay the club dentist to clean up the awful mess in Minnie's mouth. He will give where his giving shows; he wants individual gratitude; he is going to be a big brother to somebody who will grin back at him.

What is he going to do when the social work of his town has been so well rounded out that Jimmy is passed automatically from one efficient office to another, and Minnie's teeth are all fixed at school? Will he be content to be merely a catspaw for the alert relief worker, who keeps dangling before him the simpler tasks which will titillate his emotions. Or will he be really a free-lance in philanthropy? It is probably too much to hope that this sort of contributor will be found on the fighting edge of progress, aiding those causes of the future which like the Consumers' League and Voluntary Parenthood League today have to struggle in some communities even for the status of respectability. But I think he will learn to get satisfaction from the subtler forms of relief. Perhaps he will take a hand in adjusting misfit workers to the right job, and invest in psychoanalysis for the troubled stenographer or an art education for the likely urchin.

If his emotional satisfaction demands a patron-and-protegé basis for such services as these it will be increasingly difficult for him to obtain it. In our generation mercy still drops, for the most part, upon the place beneath. But the pattern is changing. The caste flavor of philanthropy is already being diluted by the community chest: it will tend to disappear as routine welfare work becomes a function of the community as a whole. The next generation may see this tendency grow into a sweeping change.

The scant success of such experiments as the social unit and the war-time community councils offers no convincing clue to the future of other experiments outwardly like them but actually motivated from the bottom up. Already cooperative enterprises in health and education are beginning to make their appearance. The recreation which some foreign-born groups secure for themselves through their own societies dwarfs the recreation program of the social worker. Autonomous groups are struggling, unconsciously and often without much help from either philanthropist or social worker, to lay the foundations of the community. The consumers' cooperative, not the proprietary agency, may provide the casework, health promotion, leisure-time activities, of the future. If the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in New York can run their own clinic today, a hundred trade unions may employ their own social work specialists tomorrow.

What the community of the future loses in the somewhat specious unity of present programs it will more than compensate by the gain in valid self-improvement and spontaneity of purpose. What your Rotarian or club-woman sacrifices in the loss of the benevolent attitude will be more than made up by the beginning of free exchange among self-respecting groups. In the technique of cooperation American organizations have much to learn from such experienced cooperators as the Finns. A *Maennerchor* might do much more for a Rotary Club than a professional songleader. Rotary, in turn, might open the way to a Bohemian *sokol* to secure the space it needs for recreation, indoors or out. There are enormous possibilities in what is neatly called "group casework."

Here, then, is the most hopeful prospect for the age of spontaneity. When the giver and the beneficiary coincide or overlap or join hands round the circle; when the technician serves those who want to benefit themselves rather more often than those who want somebody else benefitted; when cooperation means the interplay of natural groups instead of a program on paper; when the philanthropic impulse is pooled—then we shall be able to stretch our souls and relax for the general welfare.

After the Drive Is Over

By JAMES RORTY

There was a man of Tarsus town
When Caesar was alive
Whose task it was to organize
The first United Drive.

The citizens of Ephesus
Cooperated well,
For Paul, he wrote and threatened them
With all the pains of hell.

The world was sinful then as now,
But Paul, he had no fear:
"A million surly heathen souls
Shall see the Light this year."

He set his teeth and said it; then
He travelled o'er the sea
And sent his spirit down the years
To trouble you and me.

So many Armageddons, Lord—
We fight them every day;
We've made this mad world safe, and yet
We have not made it gay.

In every land thy yeomen strive,
In faith our hearts are stout;
And yet I sometimes wonder, Lord,
Just what it's all about.

And then I write and ask my Board
To please vacation me;
I'm sick of public health (I write)
As sick as I can be.

Perhaps in some far wilderness
There still are sheltered nooks
Where willows gently weep into
Cooperating brooks.

And when for pious works performed
In heaven I find my fee,
I'll wear a crown, and flit about
Disorganized and free.

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You Never Can Tell

What May Happen in Fifty Years

By BRUNO LASKER

IT was a sunny morning in the spring of 1973. Little of the golden sunlight, however, filtered down to the first floor of the old Charities Building where the Social Adjustment Board had assembled for a special meeting. The white hair and wrinkles of the men and women showed that most of them were beyond the prime of life; otherwise, with their slim, almost athletic bodies, excellent posture, ruddy complexions and soft voices, they might easily have been taken for young people recently out of college. The chairman, a fine, tall man clad in tweeds, fidgeted among some papers before him on the table. Turning to the secretary, he said: "They're late. What do you think has happened?" Just then the door opened, and Professor Kaltchev, a member of the board, entered hastily with Commissioner Warren Burke of New Zealand.

"Very sorry," said Kaltchev, "we took a plane that should have left us ample time, but we had to hang for nearly half an hour around that landing tower. Something really ought to be done about this awful congestion. It is as bad today overhead as it used to be in the subway fifty years ago."

The chairman explained that Mr. Burke was one of five commissioners sent out by the New Zealand government to study American social standards prior to the preparation of an immigration bill. The other commissioners had gone to other American centers, and all were to meet later at the national summer capital in Wisconsin.

"You will remember," he said, "that about 1930, having built up an unusually prosperous commonwealth—more homogeneous in population than almost any other part of the British Empire—New Zealand secured power, first from the Empire and later from the League of Nations, to exclude all immigration so that the social and economic gains of the last two generations might not be lost by an inrush of newcomers. You all know the results, at least those that lie on the surface: how the standards in almost every respect have improved until now they are by far the highest in the world; how poverty, never much of a problem in New Zealand, has been completely abolished, together with extreme wealth and its demoralizing effects; how the government has been reduced to a minimum of coercive activity and a maximum of promotive activity in public health, education, science and public welfare generally—so that almost nine-tenths of its necessary income is contributed voluntarily by citizens.

"However, I will not enlarge. Suffice it to say that public sentiment in the matter of immigration seems to be undergoing a change. New Zealand has not yet experienced any economic setback, but there is a certain unrest. The country is in great intellectual and artistic as well as commercial rivalry with the South American republics which, as you probably know, have for the most part adopted the opposite population policy and which today certainly lead the world in music and mathematics, in architecture and philosophy. The New Zealanders seem to suspect shrewdly that their own backwardness in these activities must eventually have unfavorable economic and social reactions; that maybe their great experiment of racial exclusiveness is not quite so successful as it was thought to be. Instead of rushing in with ineffective half-measures that would not stop degeneracy—if there is any—the New Zealand government very wisely decided to send out two commissions, one to the South American republics to study the results of their quarter of a century's policy of unrestricted immigration plus general birth control; the other to investigate the social condition of certain countries from which immigration, in case the gates were reopened, might have to be expected."

"You didn't get that quite right, Mr. Chairman," the visitor interrupted. "Shall I explain? We already know that the populations of Europe, not excluding our own mother country, have deteriorated so hopelessly that they can no longer furnish new blood for our country. So far as they are concerned, immigration is out of the question. But several other continents have populations which, though apparently backward, may have qualities not altogether to be despised. These we are now investigating.

"In the old days, if I remember rightly, there was an awful lot of twaddle over qualities of race. In your own country, for instance, there was that great agitation to get in more 'Nordics'; and as a result America was swamped for a decade or so with unemployed Celtic miners from Wales, ditto Jewish diamond grinders from Amsterdam, Latin steel workers from Belgium, and so on. However, it did no harm. We have since discovered, as you have, that three or four generations in a London slum is much more damaging than a few drops of blood from one of the more distant branches of the human family. No, it's really a question of social standards. What we want to find out is whether you people in the United States would fit in, could be assimilated culturally in a generation or two if we gave you the chance to immigrate. We don't care particularly whether your grandfather were called Miller or Mueller or Meunier.

"By the way, I've been noticing the extraordinary

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number of Slavic, Magyar and Jewish names among your public men. How do you account for that?"

"To be sure," said the chairman. "That does seem curious. I hadn't thought of it. Perhaps Professor Kaltchev knows the answer?"

"You can't go by names," said the professor. "In part these public men and women are, of course, the second and third generation offspring of the immigrants of the pre-war period who have largely replaced in public life the Irish and the Germans—in the same way in which the Italians and Greeks and certain other races have become preeminent in business. You will understand, of course, that the more these people succeeded—I am now speaking of the period about forty years ago—the more frantic became the effort to attract Nordics. Canadian farmers were given almost anything they asked for, if only they would settle down this side of the border and multiply. And they did—in their tens and hundreds of thousands. And then? Why, to get on in American business and public life, Farmer McPherson of Saskatchewan did exactly what Furrier Goldberg of Bialostock had done thirty or fifty years before—he sought protective coloring by adopting a name from one of the dominant races. Where Goldberg had become Wallace, McPherson called himself Marckievitch! And lots of the older Americans did the same. Our governor Stromewski, for instance—do you know that his grandfather was a minister in a Swedish-Lutheran church in Minnesota, called Borgstrom?"

"That's enough, thank you. I see—perfectly," laughed Mr. Burke, apparently the only one in the room to see humor in the situation.

JUST then a bell rang, and what seemed to the visitor a strange procedure began. "Hello! Hello!" said a voice from a unseen source. "Are you ready?" The chairman and the members of the board rose and took their stand three feet behind their chairs. Of course the visitor followed suit. A luminous disc suspended from the ceiling suddenly showed the figure of an athletic young man standing behind a similar chair in a nebulous void. A music box began to play somewhere, and the whole company, following each movement of the man on the disc, lowered themselves slowly until their whole weight rested on their forearms, keeping the body stiff. This they repeated six times. Next came knee-bending, also repeated several times; and two or three more exercises, with no pause between them, were performed in rhythmic harmony with the music. As suddenly as it had come, the light and the music vanished. They all sat down again, breathing heavily. A board in the middle of the table disappeared and reappeared in a moment set with glasses of milk.

Commissioner Burke gaped during this performance. "All the best offices have been doing it for years," said the chairman, noticing his astonishment. "We introduced this service into our buildings some ten years ago—in fact, I think, we were the first. A lot of middle-aged employes—and the insurance company simply refused to renew the group contract if we let our most valuable people rot away, as they called it, for lack of exercise."

"Extraordinary," said Mr. Burke.

"Yes," said another member of the board, a Dr. Gorchakov, "we have applied the idea pretty widely, as you must have noticed. The brass poles in the arrival towers, for instance. No self-respecting man or woman under ninety who isn't ill would come down by elevator as we used to twenty years ago. Incidentally, the sliding down has tremendously eased the traffic congestion in the mornings. Takes almost no room and no time. Then, you must have seen the straps and rings in the commuters' planes. Why stand on one's feet when one can hang and expand the chest? And the roller-skating through the arcades in our shopping district, you must admit, is an improvement over the old moving platforms!"

"You seem to have made a fetish of exercise," said the commissioner.

"Not at all," replied the doctor. "The public interest in it came about quite naturally through the spinach-tomato war."

"The w-h-a-t?" asked Burke.

"The war— I mean metaphorically, of course—the contention, the dispute between the advocates of spinach and the champions of tomatoes for the most important item in the human diet—oh, some thirty years ago. I am surprised you have not read of it. The whole country was divided between the reds and the greens. The Ku Klux won a national election by exposing at the critical moment the presence of a microscopical amount of poisonous fungus in a shipment of spinach from the Scilly Isles; and their Secretary of Agriculture was impeached two years later for having overstated, maliciously and with intent to defraud, the proportion of vitamin K 349 in the national tomato crop."

"But what has all that to do with physical exercise?" interrupted the commissioner a little impatiently.

"Everything," said Dr. Gorchakov. "Up to that time, apart from a few people generally considered cranks, everybody talked about the quantity and quality of the food consumed as the essential thing in diet. Now a new party arose, under the leadership of one Dr. Crunch, which held that you could thrive on almost anything provided your digestive apparatus was in good working order. The theory proved popular. Almost overnight Boston beans and cocoanut pie, sauerkraut and sinkers reappeared on bills of fare. Elaborate tables were published setting the size and weight of a dill pickle in relation to trunk-bendings and risings from a recumbent position. Like all such popular movements, this one was, of course, full of exaggeration. But it set a new fashion."

The chairman called the meeting to order. "And now, my dear Mr. Commissioner, how would you like to start your investigation?"

"I suppose," replied Burke, "the best thing would be to start with visits to your institutions, your hospitals, reformatories, asylums, jails, homes for the feebleminded and the aged, and all the rest of the dependent classes."

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"My dear man, do you mean to say that in New Zealand you still shut people away in medieval torture houses? Why, we got rid of them one and all a quarter of a century ago. It happened about the same time all over the country; but I remember the circumstances here in New York particularly well because they happened to be very helpful to those who were agitating for the change. You may have heard of the Russell Sage city plan that came to fruition about that time. Well, under that plan, the East River islands on which some of the biggest institutions were placed were needed to complete the city's park system—with the open-air theater, the reproduction of seventeenth century New Amsterdam, the Indian village and all the rest of it. Those institutions had been condemned by experts decades before; but there had never been agreement between government and legislature as to whether they should be replaced by other institutions or by a complete change in the methods of care. Finally the delay meant a victory for the reformers. With only six months left in which to clear out, there was not time to build new institutions.

"We did what we had long been told was the right thing to do; most of the people in the reformatories turned out happy and fairly useful members of society when put into a proper environment. The feeble-minded were looked after in farm homes; the criminals—well, we found that most of them were normal human beings that somehow had got wrong; the rest became permanent conscripts in the state army of public service that lays roads and that sort of thing. The aged, of course, chose their own friends to live with —some of them making family parties of five or six in a suburban bungalow.

"For a time we had all sorts of temporary detention homes, but gradually their uselessness was discovered. As a rule, we found, nothing is gained by locking up a person that cannot be gained much more safely in some other way."

"And your crime rate has not gone up?"

"No, I have told you already, we have practically no more destitution."

"But surely, natural depravity—sexual perversity—all sorts of things."

The chairman smiled. "My dear fellow, come over here, and I will show you something." He took the visitor to what seemed a row of boxes set obliquely against the long wall opposite the windows. At No. 21 he stopped and pressed a small button. In a moment the lid sprang back, and a glass square showed the interior of a large office, furnished in light wood and colorfully decorated. Pretty girls were sitting around a somewhat older woman of great beauty, apparently drinking in every word she spoke. "We could listen in," said the chairman, "but we have promised we would not. What you see there is the last remnant of the city's reformatory for prostitutes. The leader was a notorious character ten years ago. Then one of our finest citizens, a woman who combines a strong religious bent with common sense and a sense of humor, got hold of her and in a few months converted her into a crusader for what she calls the 'new art of love.' Since then we have had practically no trouble in dealing with female moral offenders. Those who are feeble-minded, of course, are sent to the country. Among the rest, some are simply transplanted into a normal home environment and the others are part of Irma's army of pioneers in the teaching of what one of our friends has called 'expansive puritanism'—the constructive enthusiasm of the early Puritans for the good life."

"And other criminals?"

"Why, the division in all cases is much the same: some are defective and are cared for when found. They are getting rare as our methods of seeking out abnormal beings develop. There are those who are just as good as anybody else but in some way have been led into an anti-social act: these we treat just as we would treat our own normal children if we found them ransacking the ice box. And there are the exceptional ones, criminals because of some originality or gift that cannot find a proper outlet under normal conditions. These are often temperamentally the ideal reformers and once introduced into one of the great public services, usually become distinguished leaders."

"Tell me," said Burke, when they had returned to the table after looking in on a few more meetings that were going on that morning, "how do you finance your work?"

"Mr. Bartolini," said the chairman, addressing the treasurer, "will you kindly answer that? And tell him how the present system came about."

"Years ago," said the treasurer, a chubby little man in a very gay sweater, "we used to think that the best philanthropist was a dead one. A bit of brass polish applied to a tablet in the front hall was about all *he* required of us. Next in favor was the millionaire who spent his winters at Miami, his summers at Bar Harbor and his springs and falls in Europe, provided he had a secretary in New York to sign checks for him. Appeals printed in good type on expensive paper with pictures of smiling children and stories of the 'heroism of the poor' brought in 90 per cent renewals of the annual contributions. More work, but not yet frightening. What nearly killed us was collecting the last few thousand. In the twenties and thirties suicides among financial secretaries became epidemic.

"Almost every wild scheme was tried once. We amalgamated and merged and federated until every cent of superfluous overhead was squeezed out. We palmed things off on the taxpayers. We went into the real estate business and the publishing business, the toy business, the laundry business—and each year we got more behind. And then at last we hit on the solution. As it was first pronounced, in not too elegant English, by a member of this board: 'Let the d . . . poor pay themselves for their d . . . poverty!' They have done so ever since."

"My dear sir," interjected the commissioner, "please don't speak in riddles. If you have to have poor people—I mean in the technical sense, people

(*Continued on page* 161)

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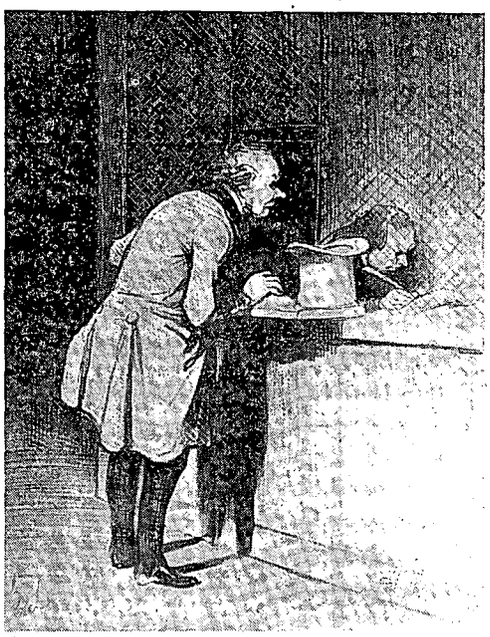
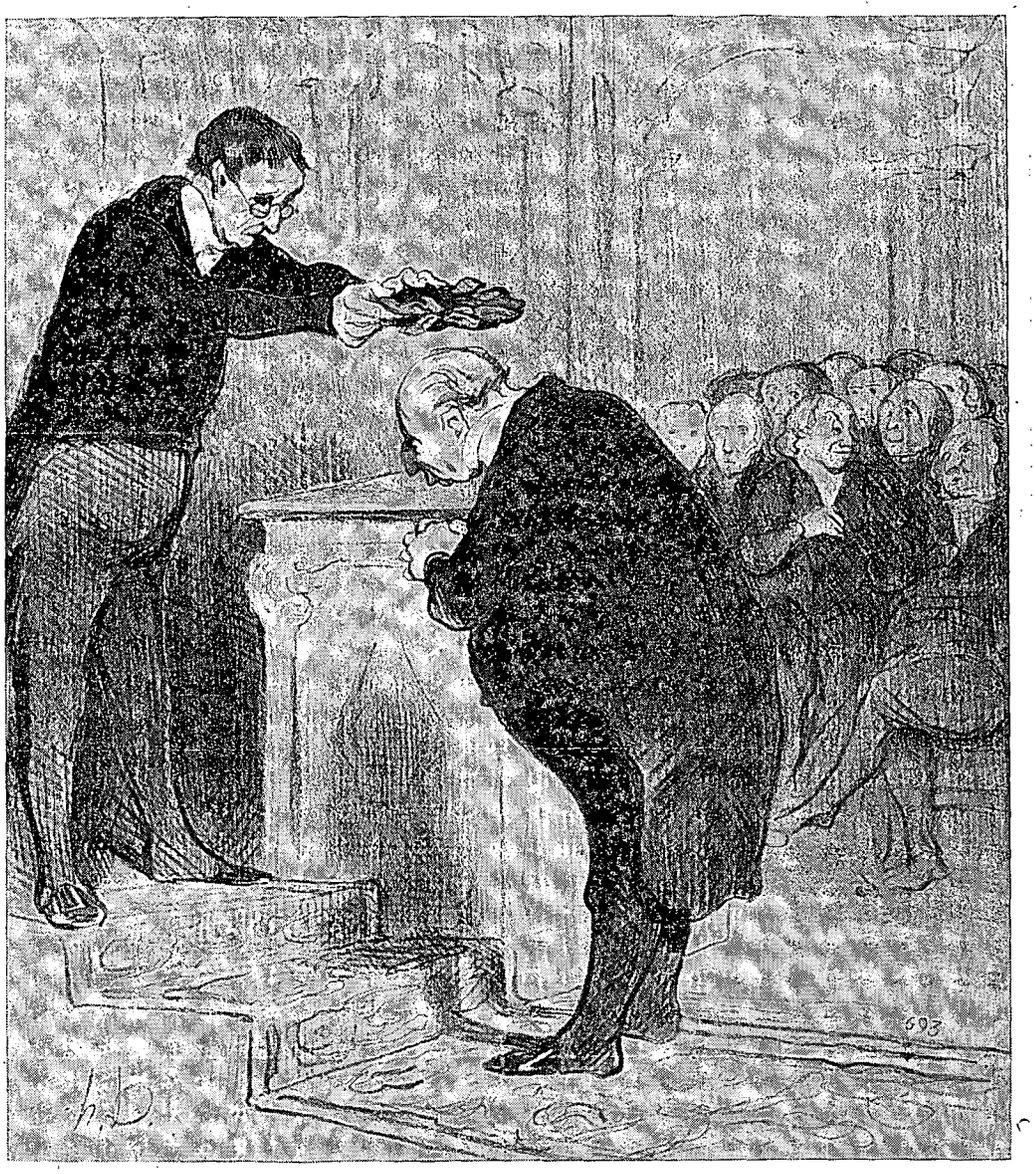
Philanthropic Foibles

HONORÉ DAUMIER who has drawn the pictures here reproduced was one of the great satirists of all times and is considered by many the greatest draughtsman of the nineteenth century. For a term of over ten years he bonded himself to a popular Parisian magazine, Carivari; but all his life from the early thirties until the seventies he engaged in a spirited battle with the one arch-enemy he recognized: humbug. In more than four thousand lithographs he relentlessly exposed every sham—political, artistic, judicial, social. His subjects ranged from the tragedy of the lowliest to the pomp and circumstance of palace and court house. His drawing is of an astonishing breadth and directness. The few oil paintings he has left behind are treasured among the classics of realism. He lived the life of the people and died poor—in spite of full recognition of his genius in his later years.



"Sir, here is my subscription for the earthquake in the Batignolles . . . . two francs. But don't forget to enter my name and address: Rigolard, philanthropist and stationer, 345 Rue St. Honoré; sells clocks, busts of Danton, Bohemian glass, English riding-sticks, German chemical matches and in general everything that has nothing to do with his trade!"



"Step up, Mr. Géranflot . . . receive the prize awarded for your beautiful work on the subject of pauperism. . . You have nobly and generously paid your debt to society by proving conclusively that, generally speaking, the poor are poor because they don't have a cent!"

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---of Long Ago

The lithographs here reproduced are from a series entitled *Philantropes de Nos Jours* (from the print collection of the Metropolitan Museum; the two larger ones on pp. 146 and 147 through the courtesy of the C. W. Kraushaar Gallery) in which Daumier, in 1840, ridiculed the foibles of the philanthropists of his time. Some of them certainly, like Molière's comedies, because of their penetration, go far beyond the idiosyncrasies of a particular period and portray human weaknesses which, in one form or another, can be found at all times. One of the best, of which unfortunately we could obtain no print for reproduction, shows an elegantly dressed couple at a dance. "Madam," says the cavalier, "we have danced for the poor who starve in Poland; now let us go and have some supper for them." How different from anything we have to show in these days!

An English humanist in the exercise of his sainted function: As a member of the Society for the Protection of Animals he forbids that any one injure any quadruped whatsoever and at the same time he has no scruples to crack the whip over a mere biped

"Very sorry, my good woman . . . . I can do nothing for you. I belong to the Northern Charitable Society . . . I give only to the poor in Kamchatka!"

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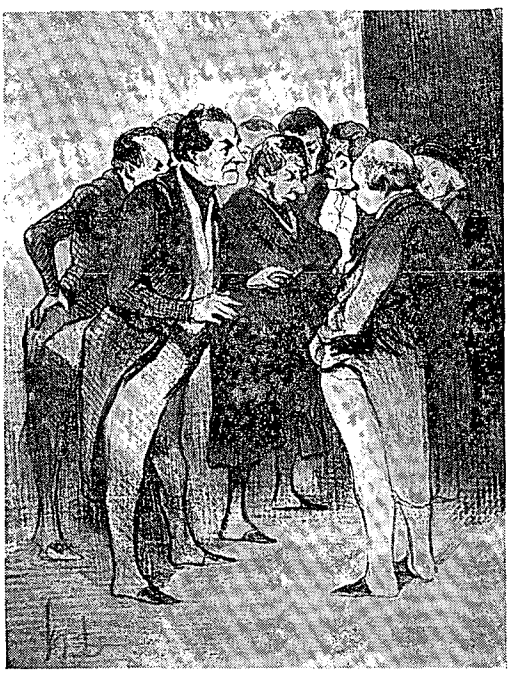
"I have before forbidden you to call me 'Master.' . . . Now, learn, you pig, that all men are brothers."

"Write this down, fortune to the Acad nual prize of twent of the best eulogy charity in particula

"But your natural

"Oh, I have not fo do not wish to hav the ranks of comp francs, and I forma eulogies on my cha



"Gentlemen of the Jury, the accused has killed Jean Maclou, it is true. . . He does not repent; that also is true. . . But it is just for that reason that we must not condemn him. . . Let us give him time; the reaction will set in; the tardier his remorse the more bitter it will be. . . I believe I am both more logical and more severe than the attorney general . . . I vote for acquittal!"

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try: 'I leave all my
oral Science for an an-
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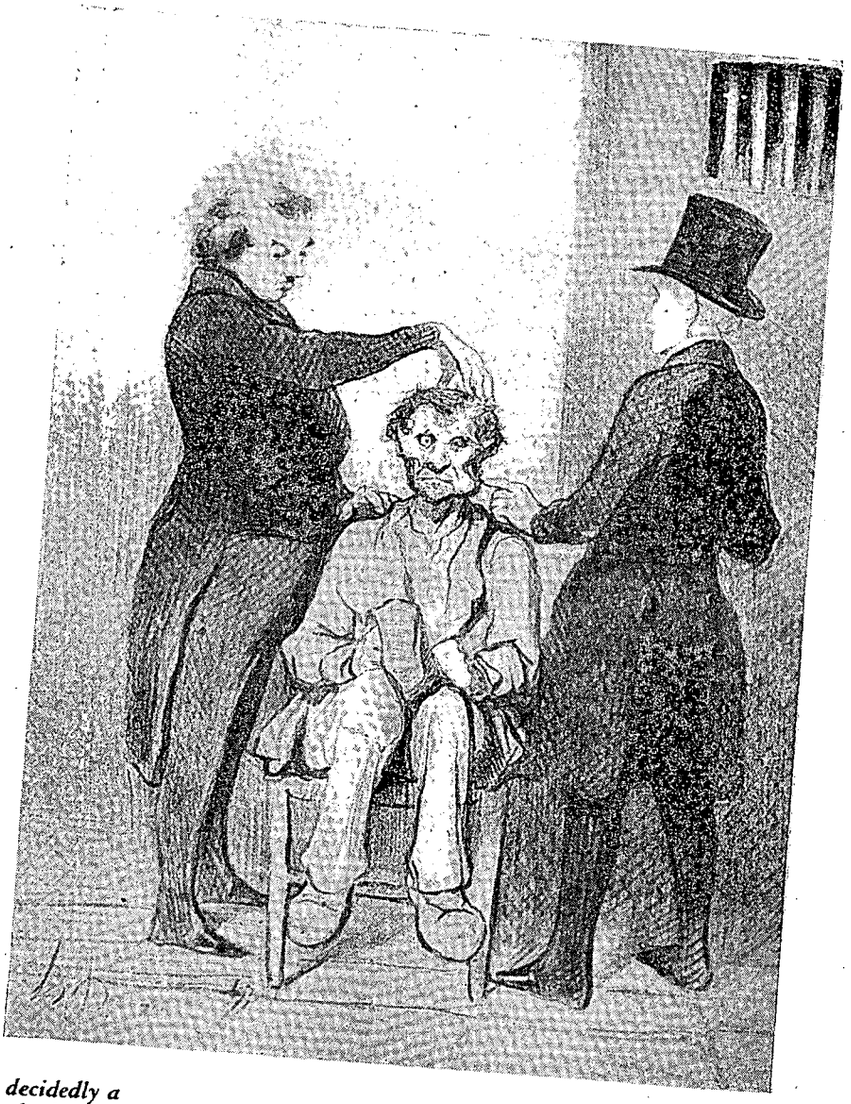
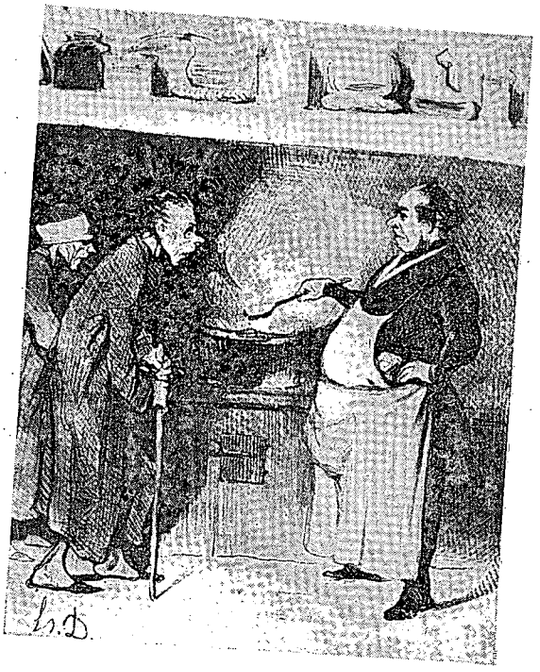
e them to submit their



"This man is decidedly a thief. . . So much the better. . . . I have great hope of being able to reform him with the aid of my system. For instance, it is impossible to improve the morals of a man without paying the greatest attention to his bumps. . . . It lies all in that! . . . Look here, for instance, at his remarkable cheek. . . ."

(The prisoner:) "Don't pay any attention, gentlemen. . . . It is only a lump of tobacco!"



"To be sure, sir, your soup is pretty light. . . . The patients maintain it does not sustain them."
"I have corrected that. . . . I am only afraid today it may be too strong . . I have put into the pot half a game of dominoes more than yesterday . . . and then the double-six to give it color!"

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The Minimum Wage Decision

How the Supreme Court Becomes Virtually a House of Lords

By FRANCIS BOWES SAYRE

THE gravity of the adverse decision of the United States Supreme Court in the minimum wage case strikes deep. The fundamental principle upon which our constitutional structure was built was that of a government composed of three separate and coordinate departments —the legislative, the executive and the judicial. Upon a perfect equilibrium between these three our government was poised; the undue encroachment of any one upon the other endangers all.

This was the reason why in the early days the Supreme Court felt it such a highly delicate matter to take the step of refusing to enforce the enactment of a coordinate branch of the government; this was the reason why ever since the days of Chief Justice Marshall, the court has steadily adhered to the rule that every possible presumption is in favor of the validity of an act of Congress, and that no act shall, therefore, be held unconstitutional if there exists any reasonable or rational doubt. Upon the careful observance of this time-honored principle rests the independence of the legislative branch of our government. The Supreme Court still professes the principle; but the decisions of latter days have caused some to wonder whether the principle is still maintained in fact. The minimum wage decision seems to shake it to its very roots. If the distinguished chief justice of the court by a closely reasoned dissenting opinion strongly maintains the constitutionality of the act; if another justice of unquestioned mental honesty can say—"To me the power of Congress seems absolutely free from doubt"; if in former cases, which those same justices are unable in principle to distinguish, the Supreme Court itself has held similar legislation constitutional, how can it be said in honest fact that there can be no rational doubt of its unconstitutionality?

If the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendments are to be so interpreted that henceforth legislation is to be declared unconstitutional whenever it is out of accord with the economic and social theories of five members of the Supreme Court, a blow is struck at one of the most fundamental principles of our government. The legislature then becomes not an independent and supreme body framing policies into law; it becomes subordinate to the Supreme Court which becomes virtually a House of Lords, exercising an actual veto power over such laws as fail to accord with the social theories of five of its members. In the minimum wage case those theories apparently were at variance with the views of four other members of the court, the Congress of the United States, the President of the United States, the law-making bodies of the sovereign states of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin and Porto Rico, and of many foreign countries, the very widely accepted views of expert economists and sociologists who have spent years of study and investigation in these fields, and the generally prevailing opinion of great masses of people throughout the country. Therefore it is forever impossible for the Congress of the United States or for any state subject to the American constitution to enact such legislation.

To those who desire the solution of our industrial troubles by orderly and legal processes, the decision is gravely disturbing. Laboring men and women must have the wherewithal to live; in the words of Justice Sutherland, "the ethical right of every worker, man or woman, to a living wage, may be conceded." The truest friends of the workers have urged them to seek their ends through the ballot box and legislation. If our constitution makes such legislation impossible, what then? Is such a reversal of the older and more conservative policy of the Supreme Court wise? In the answer to this question America has much at stake.

ON September 19, 1918, in order "to protect the women and minors of the District of Columbia from conditions detrimental to their health and morals," the Congress of the United States enacted a Minimum Wage Law, creating a Minimum Wage Board with power to determine standards of minimum wages for women and minors within the district and to ascertain "what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living" to maintain "women workers in good health and to protect their morals," and with power to enforce such "standards of minimum wages" by proper orders issued under authority of the act. The underlying purpose of the legislation was to protect the general welfare of the District of Columbia by preventing women from being forced through economic necessity to sell their labor below the actual cost of maintenance.

According to investigations preceding this legislation and corroborated by authoritative findings from many different quarters in December, 1916, the actual cost within the District of Columbia of the rudimentary needs of a woman worker, as shown in carefully itemized budgets, was $589.22 a year or $11.33 a week. According to the house committee which proposed the legislation [Rep. No. 571, H. R. 65th Cong. 2d Sess.] 46 per cent of six hundred women workers interviewed earned less than $8 per week and 64 per cent less than $10 per week. It is elementary that if employers are allowed

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to purchase labor at less than the actual cost of maintenance of life, the difference must be paid for either out of public or private charity or out of another's income. In other words, the industry concerned is benefiting from labor for which it does not pay and which, if not paid for by others, can be had only at a very serious social cost—poorhouse relief, reduced vitality of workers, overcrowding, increased sickness, an increased death rate and the long train of social ills which dance attendance upon a society which pays the worker less than it costs him to live. The law thus enacted followed the lead of similar legislation in other countries and in other states of the Union and summed up the results of experience gained under widely differing conditions.

In 1919, pursuant to the provisions of the law, the Minimum Wage Board made an investigation of the wages of women employed in the district in hotels and restaurants. As a result of this investigation, it was found that

> an analysis by occupation shows that in the restaurant business approximately 21 per cent of the waitresses, 46 per cent of the counter girls, 78 per cent of the bus girls, 14 per cent of the cashiers and checkers, 56 per cent of the pantry girls, 75 per cent of the dishwashers, 11 per cent of the cooks, 76 per cent of the kitchen girls, and 46 per cent of the miscellaneous employes were receiving less than a living wage . . . . The wage situation in hospitals is even worse than that found in hotels. Over half, 54.1 per cent, of the women receiving room and board were paid less than $7 a week, and of those receiving board alone 96.7 per cent were paid less than $10 a week.

At that time the actual cost of the necessaries of life, as shown by careful studies made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, had risen to at least $16.50 a week. The Minimum Wage Board accordingly on May 26, 1920, issued an order providing that women working in hotels, restaurants and certain allied industries must be paid $16.50 per week (nurses in training not included). The Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia, employing a large number of women, and a woman employe of the Congress Hall Hotel Company each brought suits to enjoin the enforcement of the order of the board—not upon the ground that the minimum fixed by the board was more than the bare cost of living, but upon the ground that the law itself was unconstitutional. The matter was finally carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, the precise question involved being whether the law violated the provisions of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that no person shall "be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." The Supreme Court, by a five to three decision, held the law unconstitutional.

To many lawyers who have closely followed the course of the Supreme Court's rulings upon regulatory legislation, the decision came as a distinct surprise. The clause of the Fifth Amendment which the federal statute was held to violate is identical with the important clause of the Fourteenth Amendment which forbids a state to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." On a number of previous occasions, the Supreme Court had held that various statutes regulating hours or conditions of work were, in spite of the consequent restraint upon freedom of contract, not necessarily unconstitutional. In 1898 it has sustained a law enacting an eight-hour day for miners. In 1908 it sustained an Oregon law providing that no woman should be "employed in any mechanical establishment or factory or laundry" for more than ten hours a day. In 1914 it sustained a similar Massachusetts statute; and in 1915 it sustained a California law enacting for women an eight-hour day. In 1917, by an equally divided court, it affirmed an Oregon decision upholding a woman's minimum wage law very like that of the District of Columbia. In the same year it upheld a law providing that "no person shall be employed in any mill, factory or manufacturing establishment" more than ten hours a day.

Many lawyers thought that the much criticized and apparently contrary New York bakeshop decision of 1905 had long been virtually overruled; and that in the series of decisions during the last decade and a half they could prick out an approximate line of distinction between what regulatory legislation was, and what was not, constitutional. The latest decision upsets any such idea.

JUSTICE SUTHERLAND, who rendered the majority opinion, seems to rest the unconstitutionality of the statute upon the fact that it denies to individuals a theoretical freedom of contract which he conceives to be included under the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of "life, liberty and property." He says:

> The statute now under consideration is attacked upon the ground that it authorizes an unconstitutional interference with the freedom of contract. In making such contracts, generally speaking, the parties have an equal right to obtain from each other the best terms they can as the result of private bargaining.

Although Justice Sutherland admits that there are instances in the law where this theoretical freedom of contract is impaired, such as in the case of statutes fixing railway rates, in laws regulating wages to be paid for public work, in laws prescribing the character, methods and time for payment of wages, and in statutes fixing the hours of labor, yet he seeks to draw a distinction between such regulation and a minimum wage law, and holds that while the former interference with freedom of contract is constitutional, the latter which affects "the heart of the contract," is not. He concludes:

> To sustain the individual freedom of action contemplated by the constitution is not to strike down the common good but to exalt it; for surely the good of society as a whole cannot be better served than by the preservation against arbitrary restraint of the liberties of its constituent members.

Thus to save a theoretical bargaining equality which in fact does not exist, and "individual liberties" based upon a *laissez faire* theory of government of a former generation, Justice Suther-

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Drawing by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

Prophets

By MARTHA HART BLISS

Men dream that sometime those who blame will praise,
That those who hate will learn to love instead,
That they at last will come to see ahead
A flame that will consume their yesterdays.
So smiling they go out upon the ways
That lead them darkly till their souls are dead,
Until they learn to laugh, dream-surfeited,
At those who still must travel in the maze.

But some have seen a radiant goal of light
And sought it till men killed them, undismayed.
Theirs was great confidence—men are afraid
Of strength that comes with certainty of right.
They died, as even Christ on Calvary,
For faith in self, and not for you or me.

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The Genesis of a Social Worker

By ALEXANDER JOHNSON

I.

WHEN I contrast the full and interesting life I have had during the past forty years with the dull, monotonous grind which probably would have been mine had I early learned to make money and become absorbed in that narrowing occupation, I am devoutly grateful to the friends who persuaded me to adopt the most fascinating of professions. A man can have no better fortune than that the labor by which he lives brings such satisfaction that if he did not need to work for wages he would gladly do it without. Such good fortune many a social worker shares with real artists, devoted physicians, true preachers, a few fine craftsmen, every great scientist and some other happy people.

Some happenings in my childhood in England gave the first inklings of what became with me a dominant motive—the desire to make things better for the less fortunate of my kind—to be a small part of that human providence which seems to be the most certain we can invoke.

The very earliest incident I can dimly recall was of a group of boys and girls—as my childish memory multiplied them they seemed hundreds, though I know they could have been only a dozen or two—clustering around the back door of our house in Ashton-under-Lyne, being fed with broth out of a steaming cauldron—enormous it seemed to my young recollection. Years afterward I learned from my mother that they were starving children of striking cotton spinners and weavers and most of them lived in cottages which my father owned, on the back street behind our house. My father, a prosperous merchant tailor, was not supposed to know about the soup kettle since his best customers were the employers of the strikers, and strikes were fierce conflicts seventy-two years ago and everybody took sides in them. In the rioting near the end of the long strike, some gardens which had been made out of a few acres of the reclaimed "Ashton Moss," just outside the town, were raided, and my father's acre was the only one untouched; his rose bushes and gooseberry trees were spared.

Another early social experience, the first in which I, a boy of fifteen, had part, was during the Lancashire "cotton famine," which was a by-product of the war between the states. Our well-to-do London relatives, instead of contributing to the general relief fund, sent money to us for the people in Salford among whom we lived. Again my mother's wonderfully economical cooking came in, and she fed scores of children daily; and this time father did not have to pretend ignorance. I had a Sunday School class and had the pleásure of buying "clogs" for ten little boys so they could attend.

One incident of that period gave me my first knowledge, often reenforced since, of how "charity" is hated and feared by the decent poor. The working people of Lancashire were the sturdiest, least subservient, most democratic of English folk. Peter Benson, an old weaver, was a deacon of the little Baptist chapel of which my father was a pillar (Father always went where he thought he was needed instead of to a church wherein he might have found customers for his tailor shop). We were sure the Benson family must be near the breaking point, and knowing they would starve rather than apply to the relief fund, father took me with him when he went with the offer of a few shillings of my uncle's money; he had little enough of his own by this time, for business was at a standstill in the cotton district. The sturdy old man refused the bitter bread of charity, declared they were all right, they had no need. All father's eloquence seemed in vain until he said, "Well, Peter, let's tell the Lord about it." Whereupon we all went down on our knees, and in a few moments the whole household was in tears. Father prayed that we might be delivered from wicked pride, hardness of heart and stiffness of neck, be humble-minded and willing both to give and receive the tokens of love from each other as well as from God. When "Amen" sounded, Peter, who was weeping like the rest, said, "John Johnson, thou art right, I am a proud and wicked man, I have lied to thee. We took our last penny from the savings bank five days agone, and there's not a crust in the house."

Another childish memory which has influenced my thinking through life was of being shown St. Peter's Square in Manchester, the scene of the Peterloo Massacre which occurred the year before I was born; when the yeomanry cavalry had ridden down and sabred the Chartist "blanketeers" who were gathering, each with a blanket and two loaves of bread, to march to London and present a petition to Parliament for their great Charter; which, with its "six points"—manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, paid members, no property qualifications (for members), and annual parliaments—seems now so mild.

About the same time, my father told me of *his* earliest memory, an event which happened in 1798, when he was three years old: how a "Church and King mob" raided the house, hunting for my grandfather who was supposed to be a "radical," and when they could not find him took out his uncle, a feeble old man who sat in the chimney corner all day, and pumped on him; and then dragged out my father's young sisters and threw them on the "midden-stead" while he hid under the bed.

These events and stories, the last two strangely suggesting things that have happened in the United

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States since April 1917, were part of my preparation for social work, as well as for American citizenship. But all this was long before I became a social worker and had my first adventures with the so-called "scientific" organized charities of the 1880's.

II.

WHAT a mere suggestion of to-day's range of social work there was, forty years ago, in what we were trying to make people understand as "organized" charity! And the agents and secretaries of the associated charities and charity organization societies of those early days—how few their kinds of activities, how narrow the scope of their vision (although dreams of great things did come to some of us), compared with the wide horizon, ever-widening, of the profession in this twentieth century, with its forty-two varieties of practitioners—as numbered by the American Association of Social Workers—each with its several sub-varieties. Yet those agents and secretaries were the pioneers of the profession, and hundreds of recently recruited social workers, who feel their present tasks to be radically different from what they call, perhaps with some disdain, "old-fashioned charity," had their start only a few years ago in that narrower sphere.

Now the *art* of social work began before the dawn of history. It was well developed before the Pentateuch was written. The agent of a league for social welfare or the director of a legal aid society may be well content if he can honestly rank himself with the patriarch Job:

> I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor: and the cause which I knew not I searched out. And I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.

He who wrote down the old legend of Jonah was a precursor of the agent of a humane society of today, when he had compassion not only on the children of Nineveh, but also on the cattle in the doomed city.

But the *science* of social work, without which it can hardly be counted a profession, is recent. The first hint that we had at the National Conference of Charities and Correction that such a science could be recognized by a university was in 1893. Warner's first edition of American Charities, among the earliest books to treat the subject scientifically, was new then. Henderson was led into applied sociology and to writing Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents and his other books, through his experiences in organizing associated charities in Terre Haute and Detroit. Warner, Devine, Miss Richmond and others whose writings enrich the literature of social work, began as secretaries of charity organization societies.

The term social worker was used at first chiefly to mean an agent of the organized charities; but it soon took on a wider meaning. In truth, one of the charms of the profession is in its versatility. No matter where you begin, if you begin aright, the whole field is open.

My own first contact with organized social work was as a volunteer with the Associated Charities of Cincinnati. The chief advocate and promoter of the new society was the Rev. Charles W. Wendte, an eloquent and public-spirited Unitarian minister whom I like to claim with loving reverence as my spiritual father, both in the religion of thought and emotion and in that of action which is social service. I was employed at the time in the manufacturing department of a Jewish clothing house which remembered the Sabbath day to keep it holy, so that I had Saturday as well as Sunday free from work. Mr. Wendte believed that, because I was a workingman, I was especially qualified to be a volunteer friendly visitor.

III.

CINCINNATI in the eighties affords as good an illustration as any city of the Middle West of the setting in which American social work, as we know it, began. Its modern social development with its Federation of Social Agencies, its million dollar funds, its Social Unit experiment and its highly organized Associated Charities shows a marvelous contrast to those early beginnings when it took a disaster to set our society on its feet.

Cincinnati began as a river town. In 1877 when I moved there, the river front was still marked by tall houses, but what had been the finest hotel in town was a mission house, the Union Bethel, and some formerly big warehouses were tenements, called by such names as Rat Row and Sausage Row. Old citizens used to tell us of the glories of the days when the levee would be crowded with teams and roistering deck hands; when the river-front stores and saloons were each a small gold mine; when the steamboats, tied up as close together as was safe, would line a mile or more of the river bank. A few boats still plied the Ohio, mostly carrying passengers who preferred the slow river trip, with its coolness and freedom from dust. But the picturesque "coal-tows," eight scows to a tow, three abreast with a stern-wheel steamboat the center of the rear trio, were nearly all that remained of the ancient days. One night, from a farmhouse on the river bank twenty miles above the city, we watched a whole fleet of coal tows, some dozens of them, carrying many thousand tons of coal, waiting above the sand-bar for water. They had started with a freshet and had run ahead of its crest until they were stopped by the bar. We saw the men with their flaring torches and fires, and listened to their shouts and songs until midnight. In the morning all was quiet, the freshet had caught up with its burden and carried them over the bar, and they were miles down stream towards cities and villages all the way to New Orleans.

Early Cincinnati history is full of romantic and thrilling episodes. Nowhere else in the winning of the West were there more reckless, daring exploits, and some tinge of the adventurousness and lawlessness of the fighting pioneers lingered: as was shown in 1885, when a mob stormed and set fire to the courthouse in an attempt to lynch some notorious criminals whose trial had been a travesty of justice.

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Before the days of the railroads the city had become a wholesale supply center for southern Ohio, Kentucky and much of Indiana, competing with Louisville and Evansville. Its early customers had been hunters and trappers, but the territory opened up quickly; many farmers settled on the rich virgin soil of the three states. In the seventies commercial pursuits were still its main activity, but manufacturing of many kinds was coming in rapidly, the character of the people changing with it.

The city was begun on the bottom lands of the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Licking river and gradually spread up and down stream. Then it grew out over a second level of varying width, and along the Millcreek valley. It was long before people found that the hill-tops were good places to live—first a few wealthy people, and then, when the inclined railways were invented and a nickel street-car would take one to the top, and later three or four miles into the country, the middle and working class began to go there also. In 1882 a few of the oldest and wealthiest families, the Longworths, Andersons, McDonalds and others, still lived down-town. But most of the well-to-do lived on the hills, and the city was dividing itself into sections inhabited by people who felt themselves different from those of other districts. The old Erie and Ohio canal, once an important artery of trade, was a boundary line between the business section and a large and densely populated German district, mostly tenement houses, often called "Over the Rhine." Here were a few factories, the upper part of Main Street with a few good stores mostly patronized by the Germans, and the great breweries.

The thrifty, industrious, saving and yet pleasure-loving Germans, of the working and middle classes, gave a distinct character to the population. Though pleasure-loving they were temperate. A drunken man was never or rarely seen among them and they were very critical of the American saloons. They drank their beer slowly, sitting down to it, and every man paid his own shot. "Dutch treat" had its origin there. They knew how to spend a pleasant evening in their *Bierhallen,* with their "pinochle"; or listening to Mozart, Beethoven or Wagner played by a good orchestra; often their wives and sometimes their children with them; sipping their three or four steins of beer during an evening; in the middle of the evening taking a lunch of *Schweitzer Käse* or *Wienerwurst* and *Schwarzbrod.* It was German influence that made Cincinnati a center of music. The audiences which thronged the great music hall that Reuben Springer gave to the city to hear fine concerts of classical music, or to enjoy the occasional seasons of grand opera, were largely German.

When I was working side by side with German workmen I had heard their opinions on social and religious subjects, expressed very freely. They usually married early in life and had large families. They looked askance at the "Puritans" as they called the higher-class, church-going Americans; partly because they were supposed to object to innocent amusements, especially beer-drinking, and partly because they practised birth control in a way that seemed wicked from the German point of view; at any rate, they had small families. A few of the better educated of the workmen (the standard of education was not high) were free-thinkers and, usually, socialists. The politicians always had them in mind. There must always be a good share of German names on the ticket.

Among the lower-class Germans there was a tendency to regard their children as income producers, and child labor was common. A poor man with a large family looked forward to the day when he might give up work and have his children support him. But there was not much charity asked for or expected among the German poor. Long after the Associated Charities began, it was noticeable that, in proportion to the population, German applicants were the fewest.

There were in my day very few Italians, Slavs or Greeks in the city; the great influx of people from southern and eastern Europe had not begun. There was the usual sprinkling of Scotch and English. Next to the Germans in number among the foreign-born were the Irish; there were many Catholic churches; the diocese was strong and wealthy, and Archbishop Elder, a public-spirited ecclesiastic, encouraged his clergy to cooperate with the Associated Charities. The Jewish element was strong, and there were many wealthy and cultured people among them. Their own charities were numerous, and every subscription list for social purposes had many Jewish names. There was a strong infusion of Negroes. During slavery days there had been important stations of the Underground Railway in the city and along the river. Uncle Tom's Cabin was written in a house on Walnut Hills. Its author could sit on her back porch and see slaves at work in fields across the river in Kentucky. The incident on which the story of Eliza crossing the river on the floating ice was based happened in Clermont County, twenty miles up the river, the district where we began our fresh air work in 1884. Mr. Donaldson, father of the friend who helped me begin that work, had kept a station of the railway on his farm on the river bank and had helped scores of runaway slaves to freedom. Before the Civil War there had been considerable pro-slavery sentiment. Wendell Phillips was driven from the platform by an anti-abolition mob and narrowly escaped personal violence, while W. F. Yancey with his secessionist lectures was heard without disturbance. But in my day the old animosities of the fifties and sixties were only lingering memories. Cincinnati, though on the line, was distinctly a northern city in sentiment as in geographical location; politically it was "doubtful," in a state strongly Republican.

The main body of the population was of the usual American stock from New England and New York found in the Middle West. Kentucky was just across the river, and a good many working people lived in Covington and Newport; still there was no notable infusion of Southerners; although among the applicants to the Associated Charities there were

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many southern-born of the class called in the South "poor whites." In fact, these and the floating river people — often living in "shanty boats," slowly drifting down stream from the head waters to the Mississippi, living by fishing, stealing and begging, only occasionally doing a few days' work at harvesting in summer, tying up in some good riverside city like Cincinnati, Evansville or Louisville for the winter—gave the Associated Charities many of its clients.

There were many people of culture and refinement and a good deal of inherited wealth, although most of the large fortunes had been made by their possessors. The public parks were among the finest of the country. Fifty men dined together one day and gave $1,000 each to build an art museum in one of them. There were many liberal individual givers. When great floods came and money poured in for relief from all over the country, the relief committees used every penny that came from outside the city beyond its limits, and defrayed the relief of their own citizens exclusively from local funds. It seemed a city where the best of social work ought to be easy to organize and support.

IV.

IN those days the most striking examples of charity organization were those of Boston, Buffalo and Philadelphia. The society borrowed its name from Boston and its plan of organization by autonomous districts from Philadelphia, which was the poorest model. But it measured its hoped-for results alongside those of the Buffalo C. O. S., where $125,000 of almsgiving money was saved in its first year. A large part of this showing was in the amount of outdoor relief distributed by the official whose usual picturesque name in that city was the "poormaster." Now the whole outdoor relief in Cincinnati had rarely exceeded $15,000 per annum, whereas in Buffalo it had been five times as much. In Cincinnati there were few of the private charitable societies with which Buffalo was richly endowed; and inevitably, as there was less official charity, either public or private, there was not nearly the amount of private almsgiving. There could be no such demonstration of the saving of waste as had been made in Buffalo because there was not the waste to save.

From this undue insistence on the money-saving possibilities of organization there came some results which hampered the Associated Charities through many years of its history. A few of its warmest first supporters were chiefly attracted by the promise of economy. The love of money is the root of all evil, and the wealthy man who joins a social agency in the hope that the drain on his pocketbook will be lessened is poor timber out of which to make either a subscriber or a director. The work of child placing is a conspicuous instance. It was not until the National Children's Home Society came out boldly and declared that the home-finding plan was not a method to save money but to save children that its work was put on its sound foundation.

Both the error of great insistence on economy and the faulty organization which threw all the power to the districts kept back progress. Instead of one there were really thirteen societies in the city, each entitled to the same name. The central executive was to collect money for administration, "at large," but as all the "at large" was within districts which had their own collectors, this was difficult. Some of the districts had many poor and few rich; in some the condition was reversed; some of them were distinctly middle class with few of either. The work was irregular; salaries of agents were pitifully inadequate; some of the offices were open two hours daily, some two hours on three days each week. Many families received similar casual treatment from three, four or five districts successively. The executive committee did not have money to employ a full-time secretary, and the central work was neglected.

In those days, fifteen years before the first school of philanthropy, trained service was unknown outside one or two large cities, except as the Boston Associated Charities occasionally let an assistant agent slip away; but these were few and none of them came so far west as Ohio. Under such conditions it was possible, perhaps, to do some fairly good relief work; but the fine-spun theories of co-operation and preventive and constructive social work, which had never been more than talking points for promotion, were quickly forgotten, and decadence set in from the first days. The society was like Rosalind's medlar in As You Like It, "rotten before it's half ripe."

It is not any wonder that in Cincinnati the Associated Charities almost from its inception and for some years thereafter meant little but a rather crude almsgiving agency, or that excellent societies like that of Boston should bewail the fact that people stole their nice name and misused it so sadly. Nor is it remarkable, when we think how often similar things have happened, that the name is now rarely chosen by a new organization for family welfare work, or that the Boston Associated Charities should give up the old name as too badly spoiled for its use. The name of a society soon means to the general public and to its own agents, not what it professes or intends to do, but what it does. The name Charity Organization Society or Associated Charities in some places—there are many brilliant exceptions—means a society to give relief with or without care and adequacy. An experienced social worker, speaking recently of the niggardly and careless giving of relief by a certain Red Cross chapter, said, "It's just a nasty little associated charities over again." The new leagues for social service, etc., which are springing up all over the country, must mean almost what C. O. S. and A. C. once professed. Most of them recognize relief as one of their functions. Will they follow the downward path of their immediate predecessors who likewise followed their more remote forerunners, the A. I. C. P.'s, Provident Associations, Relief Unions?

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EDITORIALS

FIFTY years may look to some a rather arbitrary period over which to review the progress of social work. There are certainly many realms of human thought and action in which such a space of time can but represent a ripple on the tide—as for instance the growth of democracy; and there are others that can be measured at much briefer intervals—say motor transportation or scientific management in industry. But as it happens, the history of the National Conference of Social Work almost exactly coincides with a period of social practice that can be precisely defined. Prior to the seventies of the last century, with a few outstanding exceptions, the attitude of society to those handicapped by physical, mental or moral defects had remained almost unchanged from medieval times, the Reformation and republicanism nothwithstanding. Charity, when it was not definitely an expression of religious duty, was a means of securing safety for society rather than of applying in practice the tenet of human brotherhood. There was little effort to understand the causes of misery or, where these were vaguely known, to attack them at the root. Neither our legislatures nor our universities were conscious of the great contributions they were destined to make to the solution of difficult social problems. Medicine was almost entirely concerned with individuals. Industry and education took it for granted that society must be constructed on different levels, in spite of the inborn belief in America that every man had his chance to rise to the top.

It is obviously impossible briefly to review the change in social consciousness that has taken place in these fifty years —though Miss Wald's contribution [p. 181] mentions some of the most important symptoms. Suffice it to say that under the stimulus of science social practice has, in almost every field, become primarily preventive rather than remedial; that whole ranges of problems not previously considered at all, have been discovered or given prominence by the simple process of analyzing such evil conditions as widespread destitution, unemployment, delinquency, illiteracy into their component elements. We have learned not only the refinement of research into causes but also that of methods of relief and prevention. And, while this process is likely to go on for a long time, we have at the end of these fifty years—again analogous with science—reached a new stage of endeavor which is likely to redirect the current of social thought and practice in the coming years.

This new trend which marks the close of the first fifty years of the National Conference, is the trend toward a larger synthesis. Child welfare work that can be successfully conducted by applying itself to children without exerting an influence on the whole social environment in which they grow up has almost reached its limits. The health reformer, as Dr. Emerson shows in this issue, has reached the point where he must help to mobilize many forces not directly under his control. In correction and the treatment of mental abnormality further progress must be based on normal psychological reactions. In all the fields, expert social service has become dependent as never before on the state of public opinion. The most modern of experimental schools, as Professor Hart has repeatedly pointed out in these pages, are facing failure unless the community is ready for the fine human products they send into it. In industrial relations what is needed today is not new tricks for keeping labor contented, or even for guaranteeing it a just reward, but an entirely new viewpoint as regards the relative share of employer and employe in taking responsibility. Even so comparatively new a department of social service as the assimilation of immigrants is faced with a task taking it outside the recognized field of "Americanization." It must integrate *all* the factors that might be helpful in the making of new Americans in a comprehensive program; it must participate in the reorganization of many group relations within the community.

On the side of research, social advance in the past fifty years has, perhaps, contented itself too much with the survey and analysis of existing conditions—usually within narrow confines. We now recognize that history is not "all bunk," but that many errors of judgment can be avoided by studying present problems in their origins and development and by taking cognizance of historical precedents. In the same way, we are learning that the best efforts are apt to fail unless a study of present conditions is paralleled by a determined endeavor to anticipate changed conditions that may have to be met in the future. Recent developments in the technique of social diagnosis, to attain their utmost usefulness, require an equally conscientious development of social prognosis. Social "evidence" has often to concern itself with matters that only indirectly affect the individual case; social "prophecy" must cover an even larger territory of facts and trends.

We need a continuation of the spirit of adventure and delight in experiment which has characterized the last half century—with perhaps even greater tolerance for the unorthodox and, certainly, a more conscious building up on the side of theory. But it cannot be doubted that we stand on the threshold of a new era in social work, conceived in the larger sense. Again Americans are in a position to pioneer.

WHEN Stuyvesant Fish, banker and railroad man, died three weeks ago, there were columns in the newspapers about his life. He was the son of a member of Lincoln's cabinet. He was president of the Illinois Central Railroad. He fought a losing fight with E. H. Harriman for control of that road. He was a director of many corporations, a member of many clubs; his family was prominent in New York society.

Almost everything was told about Stuyvesant Fish except an experience that must have been among the most illuminating of his life, his service as chairman of the committee of stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation appointed by Judge Gary in 1911 as a result of a resolution

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introduced at a stockholders' meeting by Charles M. Cabot to make an investigation and a report on the labor policies of the corporation. With fellow railroad men, Darius Miller of the Burlington, and T. deWitt Cuyler of the Pennsylvania, with an old Carnegie Steel man and a Pittsburgh broker, and with the assistance of William H. Matthews, who knew industry both as a mill worker in his youth and as a citizen of Pittsburgh in his manhood, he went to the steel mills. He watched the pouring of heats and the stripping of ingots, the rolling of beams and of rails. He talked with steel workers and steel presidents. He felt the withering heat of the open hearths. He saw the hazard and the toil of the mills, and he learned something of the human cost of steel. He came back from that trip and set his name to a report which said that the seven-day week must go, regardless of "alleged difficulties" standing in the way, and that "steps should be taken now" looking to the elimination of the twelve-hour day, because of its effects in "lessening the vigor and virility" of the men who work it. There is no truer statement of the evils of the two-shift system, nor a more eloquent appeal to abolish it than this report to stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation, by the committee led by Stuyvesant Fish.

Eleven years have passed since that committee made its report. In that time more than three hundred thousand steel workers have struck against the twelve-hour day. In that time the churches of the whole country have protested against it, and the engineers have joined them. In that time a president of the United States has appealed to the steel manufacturers to bring the twelve-hour day to an end. In that time dividends have never failed, and once, in a war year, common stock earned 18 per cent. In that time the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation have met eleven times without taking any action to rid the industry of its disgrace.

The eleventh meeting was held just the other day. Judge Gary reported that the corporation is a billion dollars richer than it was twenty years ago. It has an enormous surplus and he hinted that an extra dividend might some day be forthcoming. He pointed out that wages depend upon the state of the labor market and expressed regret that the immigration laws are holding back a flood of European labor.

Nobody said anything about the twelve-hour day. Stuyvesant Fish and Charles M. Cabot are dead.

But in May comes a meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute at which a committee of executives, with Judge Gary at their head, are to report on this very matter. After twelve years, where will they stand?

SOME months ago, reports from Harvard carried the implication that the Civil War might have to be fought again. Constitutional provisions guaranteeing all citizens of the United States against discriminatory treatment on the basis of "race, color or previous condition of servitude" were being violated, or were about to be violated. President Lowell had decreed this reversal of the Harvard traditions; and though his decrees are subject to review by "properly constituted authority," he, at least, seemed to be sure that no superior authority would question this decree. He pronounced the case closed.

But *Pro Bono Publico,* the hero of President Lowell's new book on Public Opinion, became aroused; Harvard alumni rose up in arms. A committee of the faculty has now made its report.

The substance of the report is to the effect that there is to be no war; unless, of course, President Lowell wants a little private war of his own. The Board of Overseers has accepted the report of the faculty committee by a unanimous vote. The traditional policy of Harvard is to be maintained. White men are to be admitted to the university on equal terms with Jews and Negroes: no racial or religious discriminations are to be permitted. And while no white man is to be compelled to live in the freshman dormitories against his will, Negroes are to have their immemorial (since 1865) and now inalienable right to live therein, all previous protests to the contrary notwithstanding! *Magna est veritas, et praevalebit.*

IN order to discredit the group of young Europeans who are touring American colleges under the auspices of the National Student Forum, the National Civic Federation has resorted to characteristic misrepresentation of the European youth movement. It may be worth while to point out that in the countries where that movement is strongest, it is almost universally welcomed by moral and social reformers as an aid to their efforts. A Roman Catholic priest recently wrote of it in terms almost identical with those applied some time ago in these pages: "Germany's Only Hope."

In a recent number of *Soziale Praxis,* the exceedingly conservative organ of social work and legislation, an article is devoted to the close relation of the youth movement to immediate tasks of social and moral reform. The movement does, of course, have many branches that are not concerned with practical social questions: the nationalistic groups that interest themselves chiefly in Jew-baiting, the communist and other partisan organizations of young people, the purely idealistic philosophical and culture-seeking groups that have their eyes on the stars and their feet in the mud of uncontrolled emotions. But the greater part of the movement is hailed in this article as an outstanding force among the people for physical and mental health, especially through its activity in the combat of alcoholic drink, tobacco, and obscene and vulgar films and books. Some of the methods employed in this crusade are anything but amateurish or juvenile: it is, we are told, "detailed work that requires much patience and devotion." Although the effort sometimes takes the form of propaganda for legislation, it is in the main educational and limited to those aspects—of social hygiene, for instance—that directly affect young people as individuals.

It is significant that some of the earlier leaders criticize the movement for entering what seems to them the path of "philistine organization for social betterment" and too much interest in immediate, practical questions; while others think it is as yet too romantic and not sufficiently filled with "love that finds its expression in practical social work."

IT is always a good thing when a public controversy shifts from personal attacks to a basis of objective fact. None the less, there seems to be much temperament in the statistical outgivings of the best minds at Washington. Some of our peace organizations had attacked army officers who had gone considerably further than the War Department in making propaganda for a large army. In retaliation, these officers charged several of the organizations with various crimes among which "communism" was almost the mildest. Brigadier-General Amos A. Fries went so far as to call the members of the Women's International League for Peace

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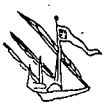
and Freedom treasonous. The Secretary of War tried to pour oil on the troubled waters by refusing permission to the officers concerned to give out any more publicity of this character but at the same time to save their face by vaguely referring to the presence of communists and enemies of the republic somewhere in the peace movement.

Then he turned around and denounced the National Council for Prevention of War for the distribution of a chart issued by the United States Bureau of Efficiency which shows that 85.8 cents out of every dollar paid in taxes goes to pay the cost of past wars and the present expense of army and navy. He produced a chart issued by another government department, the Bureau of the Budget, which, by basing its estimates on gross expenditures, comes to the absurd conclusion that the support of the Post Office costs the American citizen more than that of army and navy—namely 15.5 as compared with 13.5 per cent of the income from taxation. But this takes no account of the postal revenues! Furthermore, this calculation excluded the interest on and retirement of the public debt contracted by the cost of previous wars, a very substantial item in the total government expenditure every year.

With this conflicting testimony another department of the federal government comes to the rescue with yet another set of figures. The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in a speech which he made in New York on March 24, stated that in 1922 the army and navy had taken 24.5 cents out of every dollar contributed by the taxpayer, and that the cost of the public debt, pensions and other items "due entirely to past wars" amounted to 54.6 cents, making a total of 79.1 and leaving only a fifth of all the taxes collected by the government for purposes other than war—past and future.

Whether it is 85.5 cents out of every dollar or 79.1 that we pay for war is, perhaps, a question we may leave to statisticians—though the three contradictory statements raise the question whether our government does not need the services of a central bureau of arithmetic.



NOWADAYS when organized labor is feeling its muscle, this is not always in preparation for a tussle with the employer. Evidence comes from all over the country of an increasing activity of labor unions to meet a variety of social needs experienced by their membership. The phenomenal growth of banking, the slower but sure growth of consumers' cooperation under the direct auspices of unions, the health services provided for their members, especially by the needle trades, are well known.

The latest addition, interesting because it falls into the center of the social work field, is the social center organization planned by the Italian Cloakmakers Union No. 48 in New York at their new building in East Fourteenth Street. Here the seven thousand members of the union are providing not only an up-to-date club for themselves, with library, gymnasium, swimming pool and other facilities, but a trade school for the children of members, a school of Americanization with classes in English, American history, naturalization and trade-union principles, and a day nursery for working mothers. Industrial employment for the mothers of small children is a doubtful practice; but it is significant nevertheless that, seeing that many married women *are* enrolled in this union, the members are willing to burden themselves with the task of administering an institution to take care of their children, where they will receive "expert and devoted attention."

Another union recently brought out an elaborate illustrated pamphlet on posture for women working on sewing machines. If this goes on, we may before long see employers' associations vote large sums to the unions for their contributions toward increasing output and efficiency!

AMERICANIZATION, it seems, can go too far; or it can mean more than its sponsors intended. The Manufacturers' News thinks that the time has come to call a halt on the work that was begun with such tumult and shouting at the nations, four or five years ago. "The difficulty is"—the News is speaking—"when a man becomes Americanized he will not work. Assimilation, as it is called, produces men for the top. It makes too many generals. There must be some privates to make a well-balanced army." And privates must not know too much!

PHILANTHROPY and petroleum—which have worked in partnership before this—continue to draw American attention to the Near East where the oldest war in the world still harries both shores of the Aegean. The first two weeks of April brought three events which challenge American policy with such urgency that they make the preoccupation of the Administration with other phases of foreign relations seem a little irrelevant.

The first was an announcement by Secretary Hughes that he had invited Great Britain, France and Italy to consider before June 30, when the American Red Cross would bring its emergency relief operations to an end, some constructive plan for dealing with the refugees in Greece. He said:

> The problem of finding permanent homes for the refugees is one . . . which is not within the scope of private relief agencies. It will require the cordial cooperation of the local authorities where the refugees may be situated, and of the powers whose territorial and other interests in the Mediterranean area may make it possible for them to assist.

The second was the approval by the Turkish National Parliament of the "Chester concession" which thrusts the United States into the very center of the international fight for Mosul oil.

The third was a speech by Colonel Plastiras, a Greek revolutionary leader, in which he told of the successful reorganization of the Greek army and remarked that both army and navy were "ready today to fulfill their duty to the motherland and to civilization if the opportunity offers, and to reap the fruits of victory which would insure Greece an honorable peace."

FOR more than six months nearly a million refugees, Greeks and a few Armenians, who fled before the Turks in Asia Minor, have been crowded in temporary shelters throughout the Greek islands and the cities of the mainland. [See The Homeless in Greece, by Allen T. Burns, The SURVEY, January 15, 1923, p. 492.] Others are unwelcome guests in Constantinople, or are still gathered in Turkish ports from which they have been unable to escape. Those outside of Greece are the care of the Near East Relief.

To the panic-stricken throngs of women and children now in Greece, who left behind them in Smyrna and its hinterland all that they owned, their men being held by the Turks, have been added new groups from the Black Sea ports and from eastern Thrace. The refugees from Thrace, who came in orderly fashion, families and goods intact, have

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largely been absorbed into Macedonia. The others are dependent upon the bounty of Greece and America.

The Red Cross, moving somewhat tardily at first, has squarely shouldered its humanitarian responsibility for the homeless in Greece. It has been feeding half a million, it has provided great quantities of clothing and blankets, and has kept typhus and smallpox in check so successfully that neither has become epidemic in spite of the enormous sanitary difficulties. It has spent more than $2,600,000.

The Red Cross now has two reasons for deciding to terminate this service. One is the fact that the coming of summer will in large measure relieve the most trying features of the emergency. Margaret Curtis, lately a Red Cross worker in Greece, adds her personal testimony on this point in a recent letter to the SURVEY:

I have no reason to suppose that the Greek people cannot resume the burden of those of the refugees who still need to be fed. With the opening of spring and agricultural possibilities, with the intervening time [until June 30] so that carpet industries can be created, with the mild weather so that flimsy housing will suffice in Macedonia, I should feel that a very large majority of the refugees could be self-supporting.

The other is a conviction that for their own good the refugees must be restored to some life more normal and less devastating to morale than their present dependency. Ernest P. Bicknell, now vice-chairman of the Red Cross in charge of foreign operations, puts it thus:

The refugees have now been huddled in camps for more than six months and are already feeling the inevitable effects of such a life, not only in the matter of health, but in the matter of spirit and ambition. It is highly important that these camps shall be broken up at the earliest possible moment and the refugees scattered widely through the villages and the country where they can come in touch with the life of the people and find improved opportunities for self-support. So long as the American Red Cross, or any other agency, is willing to continue the feeding and clothing of refugees where they now are, the camps will not disintegrate.

At all events, the Red Cross can hardly be expected to carry so large a share of the burden for which the Greek government and the Allied Powers, who have undertaken without conspicuous success to regulate the affairs of the Near East, are clearly responsible. Though the Greek authorities have shown foresight and vigor, it is natural for Americans to feel that a definite program of withdrawal will hasten the decisive solution which the government must sooner or later work out. And there are political complications as well. A relief worker recently home from Greece writes us as follows:

Where the Red Cross was putting in its feeding operations, the government cut down its allowance to the refugees by half, saying that it would use the money saved for the permanent rehabilitation of the refugees, chiefly in building homes. After some weeks we asked to see some evidence of this use of the money. We were referred to an insignificant building operation on the outskirts of Athens which, we had previously been told, was being financed by a different fund. At the same time the Greek army, perhaps quite rightly, was being totally reorganized, and I myself saw one Sunday afternoon seven transports landing troops in Salonika. *Query*: Was the American Red Cross equipping the Greek Army? *Answer*: I do not know!

HOW is this violent dislocation of populations to be adjusted? The plain fact is that the Greeks and Armenians whose homes are in Asia Minor, who have plied their trades and worked their farms under Turkish rule for generations, want to go home. They cannot go today: the Turks forbid it. But some of them will go whether it is safe or not, and the Turks themselves may come to realize how much the economic life of Anatolia needs the elements that they now so ruthlessly discard. There can be no general restoration of the Greeks to their homes, however, until the Allies and the Turks come to a clear understanding on the question of minorities.

Failing repatriation, the Greeks declare, they must have an international loan if this surplus of a million newcomers is to be absorbed into an impoverished country. To set the rug-weavers of Smyrna to work again will take new capital; to increase the agricultural output by intensive cultivation will require money for housing and implements; to add the waste lands of Macedonia to the productive area will take years of engineering effort and abundant funds.

There is still another way. A Greek in New York remarked the other day: "We should not be sorry to fight again. Our army has been made over; it can give a good account of itself now. Eastern Thrace would take care of all our refugees." That is a sinister possibility. Will the Greeks, thwarted and ruined in Asia, try the hazard of arms once more for a lesser European prize? Who will then carry the new burden of war relief?

SO the situation stands, and now the powers have gathered again at Lausanne. When they met before, they permitted Turkey's outrageous proposal for the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor, softened in theory but not in fact by the Greek counter-proposal for an exchange of minorities, to be written into the pending treaty. It is a cruel and stupid solution—cruel not only to the Greeks in Asia Minor but to the Turks of Macedonia and Crete, many of whom have lived for generations on their Greek farms and speak no language but that of their neighbors. But Richard Washburn Child, American observer, was powerless to prevent the decision.

The Treaty is still in the making. Yet what hope is there that the British, French and Italian governments, to whom Secretary Hughes politely refers the whole refugee mess, will do better now than they did then? An American "observer" is again a bystander at Lausanne. Admiral Chester may be on hand to help him observe when oil is the subject in hand. There will be renewed pressure for the "open door." Who will speak clearly and with authority for the millions of American givers who have a stake in every country of Eastern Europe, the men and women who foot the bills, as Mr. Burns put it in a recent interview in the New York World, while diplomats—including our own—hold aloof? Shall we wait for the next crisis and then rush nobly to the rescue all over again?

AT last some one has discovered a real social use for one of the many "days" and "weeks" which we are asked by various groups to hold sacred for their respective causes. The painters in Washington, D. C., decided that if there was to be a Clean-Up Week, it was common sense to start by cleaning up their own trade. So they presented to their employers a set of demands—including a higher wage rate and a forty-four hour week—and when these were refused walked out and left the beautification of the national capital to the tender mercies of amateurs. Our musicians who have given the theater owners so much trouble of late, would certainly give the public a new conception of their importance if they centered their obstructive tactics on Music Week. The traffic policemen might strike in Safety Week for a pension to support their widows and orphans. The doctors might lay down their stethoscopes and demand advance payment of fees in Health Week. On Mothers' Day—but no, don't let us imagine things too horrible to contemplate!

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You Never Can Tell

(*Continued from page* 145)

who can't support themselves and their dependents (I am glad to say, we haven't got any in *our* country)—surely society in some sort of organized way has got to provide for them. 'Pay themselves for their poverty' seems to me just a bit childish."

"But that's where you are wrong," replied Bartolini. "They did it from that time on, and they are doing it now. They even pay us to do the best for them we can. When a widow is in trouble, she goes to some other widow, perhaps not much better off than herself, and gets help from her. Both together, maybe, look up another widow who has means, and everything is arranged nicely. There may be a club of a dozen widows—and what could they enjoy more than coming together once a week to discuss over a cup of tea the symptoms of their deceased husbands! Before long there will be a regular organization, with one of the war-millionaire widows as president and principal financier.

"The same with every other kind of need. The deserted wives, the chronic sufferers from weak hearts, the blind, the deaf, the unemployed—they all drift together in natural, neighborly bonds of sympathy, as they always have done; but instead of looking to some outside organizations to help them, they now help themselves."

"The unemployed?"

"Why not? If you take a man out of work without resources or particular ability, he is apt to be down and out. If you get a gang, they can contract to do a fair-sized job. If you get a thousand, they have credit enough among them—on personal grounds—to start an industry. In the old days, we used to talk of insurance with contributions from employers and the state; it never did work out, not even in England. The employer and the state between them created all the unemployment, and there was no more hazard about their depressions and crises than there is about a man deliberately cutting off his thumb. Now the workers do their own insuring—for to them unemployment is an insurable risk, a gambling proposition. And they do pretty well, I tell you. We haven't had to relieve an unemployed man for nearly twenty years."

"I yet don't see how a mere neighborly coming together of blind people or people who have got into debt through prolonged illness gets over the need for outside relief," said the commissioner.

"It doesn't altogether, of course," the chairman intervened. "But you forget that these people have always been taken care of by family and neighborhood; even fifty years ago organized charity amounted to very little in the total volume of relief. Now the neighborly helpfulness is organized and educated to recognize the value of skilled assistance; so we are called in—not as magicians to wield a wand before which all difficulties disappear but to save time, trouble and expense. Sometimes, on the advice of our workers, money is raised for a particular case; but all we do is to make connections with interested groups or merely to find an individual friend for the family."

"But your overhead? All these offices and clinics you have shown me, and the hundreds of varieties of experts and files and what not—surely you've got to raise the money for that somewhere?"

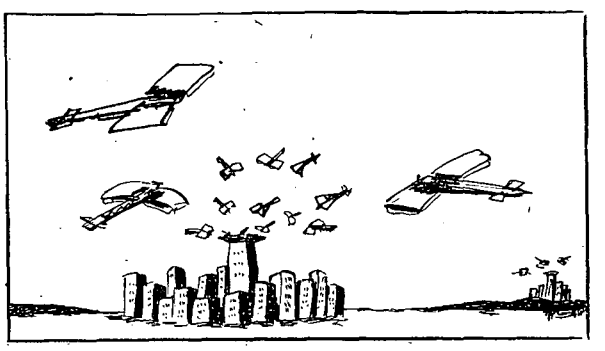
"Most certainly. But, apart from some endowments which used to look big when I was a child but which amount to next to nothing with present prices, nearly all of it is covered by the fees we charge. People like to be well and happy and fairly secure and free from handicaps that hold them down, and in jobs for which they are fitted—then why should they not pay for the help we give them in achieving all that? The old idea that the poor are too poor to pay is all rot! Our theory is that when we are through with a case we have put the man or the woman or the family high above the average in ability to pay their way—we don't stop until they are. And the little bill for our services is the first lien on their prosperity—just as the doctor's is on the health of the restored patient."

"I see," said the commissioner, quite overcome by the eloquence of his informant. But still another surprise was in store for him. "It might not be a bad idea," he said, turning to the chairman, "for me to interview some of the cases to get a better idea of what this scientific case work has done for them."

"Why, my dear fellow," said the other, "you have been doing it for the last hour. We are all cases in this room, elected by the other several thousand cases in the 'complete' file to represent them in the management of this great civic organization. Did you think we were still living in the age when a few ignoramuses of both sexes, sticky with wealth, could command the most vital social policies of the community? Why, when we found we did not need their money any more, their social prestige vanished almost overnight. They are just supporting the causes in which they have a keen personal interest and don't get a begging letter from one end of the year to the other. And mighty fine work some of those people have done since they were released from the assumed responsibility of mixing in things they didn't know anything about. There's old Thompson, grandson of the shoe-polish king. He has taken a three years' course in psychology—at the age of forty-five, mind you—to be of effective help to dope fiends. I've mentioned, I think, Mrs. Bernstein, widow of the silk merchant, who has taken up the widows—first in her own suburb, then all over the city. And this morning the Courier announces that Manuel Gonzales, head of the South American Shipping Trust, has given another five billion dollars to the Guild of Convalescents from Pulmonary Disorders to purchase two of the Windward Islands."

Commissioner Burke was duly impressed. "Gentlemen and ladies," he said; "I'd better read up a bit before bothering you with any more of my questions. I see my information is far from up-to-date."

"Take this," said the secretary, handing him a cylinder-shaped box. "It's the latest volume of THE SURVEY PHONO-GRAPHIC."



Drawing by Hendrik Willem Van Loon

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The Genesis of a Social Worker

(*Continued from page* 156)

If they escape that fate it will be because, as many of their predecessors did not, they recognize and live up to the truth that relief is a means, not an end; and still more because they shall undertake attractive and positive work in other forms of social benefit; forms which shall be so concrete and so easily understood by the public that, instead of being overshadowed by relief, they will quite overshadow it, to the public eye.

In February 1883, came a great flood in the Ohio valley, and the sympathy of the nation flowed to the city of Cincinnati. People who were interested in organized charity all over the country, instead of giving to the general relief fund, sent money to the Associated Charities. When the distress was over, a sum of about $1,800 was left in the treasury, and for the first time since the society began, the executive commitee found itself able to employ a full-time general secretary. I was chosen partly because of my work with the society, partly because I had some fluency of speech, and partly because it was thought I could afford to work for the small salary which was all the committee dared offer.

V.

JUST as the aftermath of one disaster had given the committee the means to hire a secretary, so that of a second made the central work possible. I began to work on January 1, 1884, and before the end of the month the river began to rise. By the sixth of February it was impossible to ignore the disaster, and the Chamber of Commerce summoned the City Council to a meeting to take measures for relief. While that meeting was in session, the district chairmen of the A. C. met with the executive committee in the central office. It was a critical moment in the history of the society and in the life of its new and untried secretary.

I urged our committee to face the situation boldly and to offer to the Flood Relief Committee to do the work if they would furnish the funds. Our committee dreaded the responsibility but at last yielded to my urgency and with much trepidation made the offer. It was accepted with the modification that the Flood Committee should furnish to the A. C. not cash but supplies in wholesale quantities, dealing exclusively with the central executive committee, and would do no retail distribution from headquarters. For the first time our districts became subject to the control of the executive committee. I persuaded the committee to declare itself in permanent session until the flood should go down, and then to act promptly, or to sanction my acts, sometimes on important questions of policy. I had as my most faithful lieutenant the managing partner of a large wholesale firm.

The flood drove more than twenty thousand people from their homes and cut off thirty thousand more from their places of work. All the factories, railroad shops, depots, gasworks and similar industries were under water. The city went back to coal oil for its lighting. Many of the refugees were housed with friends in other parts of the city. Many were lodged in schoolhouses, halls and churches. Some took refuge in the upper stories of factories where they could be reached only by boat.

Seven of the districts included flooded territory, others lodged many refugees, all had residents out of work, so each had some flood relief to give. They were enjoined to keep offices open daily from seven to six, were furnished with a schedule of rations for the different sizes of families and told to restrict their work to their own territory, counting all refugees as belonging where they were found; and to visit each case before more than an emergency half-day's ration was issued.

Most of the districts complied at once, but a few resented dictation and proposed to do their work in their own way. One of these which had no flooded territory declined to keep its office open all day. One morning one of the members of the City Council, who resented the control of relief by the Associated Charities, appeared at headquarters, bringing a refugee who was lodged in the recalcitrant district and who reported that the office was closed. The councilman loudly demanded food and blankets for the family. I sent the applicant back to the district office, telling him I would be there before him, called a young man who was waiting in hope of a job and started on a run. (This was before the day of the auto.) It was a mile away, but I made it in ten minutes, found the door locked and, as I had no key, kicked it open. I installed the boy with instructions about taking applications carefully, getting surnames and given names of each member of the alleged family, with accurate addresses, and issuing the emergency half-day's rations (there were plenty of supplies on hand). Then I hurried back and wrote a report of my action to the chairman of the district, telling him politely but firmly that if he did not keep the office open as ordered by the executive committee, I should be obliged to rent a vacant store in the same block, install my own clerks and put the district out of business so far as flood relief went. He sent us a polite reply, regretting the "mistake" and promising to comply with all orders from the executive. When we began really doing the central work a few weeks later, this district became one of the most loyal and cooperative.

As soon as it was known that relief was being given on a liberal scale, the city was inundated by a human flood of tramps and derelicts from Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and states further away. A warehouse on the market square was equipped, and all comers were fed liberally three times daily. The tables seated six hundred, and for weeks they were filled twice at each meal hour. The sight of these hundreds of able-bodied, rough-looking fellows, waiting on the sidewalk for the tables to be emptied of the first comers, was one never to be forgotten. They were lodged in the police stations and cheap lodging houses. The day after the water went down, the foreman of a factory wanted laborers to clean out the deposit of mud on his floors. He went early in the morning to the Harrison St. station where 185 men had slept in the tramps' room and offered to pay two dollars per day; a high wage for common labor in 1884; but only three out of the 185 accepted the job. The free meals were still available.

About the middle of the second week of the flood relief, at half past five one evening, when business was quieting down, a few members of the central flood committee were sitting round the stove, swapping yarns. Some of the members of the Common Council were much distressed because the Relief Committee had control of the city's contribution, so that they could not use it with their constituents to strengthen their political fences. One of these, from the fifth ward, came in with a lurid story of two dozen or more families occupying the upper floors of Mosler's safe factory, who were without the necessaries of life. He demanded blankets, mattresses, meat, bread and whatever was to be had for them. One of the leading members of our flood committee said to me that this was an exceptional case; he agreed that the man was a faker, but he *was* a councilman; and there might be people suffering. While he turned away to talk to the rest of the committee, I sent off the councilman with one of my boys, to go in a boat to the factory and get

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the facts. When the committeeman found I had sent the man away he got a little excited, but I urged a few minutes' patience. In twenty minutes my boy and the councilman were back, and his story of many families and hundreds of people was whittled down to seven families of twenty-three individuals, all of whom had saved their bedding; they had plenty of bread, coffee and sugar, but the boat which delivered meat had missed them that day. A few pounds of boiled ham satisfied the demand which would have taken many dollars' worth of supplies to fill if not investigated. The incident closed with my friend, who had suggested that we break our rules, gravely lecturing his fellow committeemen, some of whom were only recent converts to the A. C. way of doing business, on the advantage of *our* method of investigation which had saved much waste by simply doing things in a thoroughly scientific and businesslike manner.

It was a hectic time for three weeks, but it was of the utmost benefit to the society. Without some such emergency it would never have been possible to unify the work. With it the districts got the habit of regard for the central committee, and with tact they were kept, to some extent, in that habit. Incidentally it had much effect in settling me in my newly adopted profession.

VI

AS the water went down, the work of repairing and restoring damaged homes of poor people began. This was done by the district committees and paid for by the Flood Committee on my approval of the bills. Three of the districts had much territory of small cottages, many of them owned by their working-class occupants. No better use of charitable funds could be than to restore these homes. Some applications for help of this kind were made by well-to-do people, so that careful investigations were necessary. It was hard to convince such people that the flood relief was not a free insurance fund.

When the house repairing was well under way, the Flood Committee, intending to wind up its business, called for an estimate of how much each district would need to finish the work, promising to give them what they asked on my approval. I begged them not to take this course, but the committee had decided and we had to comply, and some interesting sidelights on human nature appeared. One district, for example, was pauperized out of existence by easy money to which it was really not entitled. The most flagrant instance of the kind of which I have known occurred after the great fire of Chicago; in this case the work of the whole society went down to extreme inefficiency. The law of vigorous life is the law of self-help, with men or with associations of men. Each may easily be weakened by outside help.

When the strenuous days of the flood were over and I began to use the newly gained control over the districts, I realized how little I knew. I did not know my job, and I had no way of learning it but by doing it—or overdoing it, for in my new task I had so little judgment that I thought I could work fourteen hours a day—on occasions thirty-six hours at a stretch. I broke down, spent some days in bed and got one of the most salutary lessons of my life. For the next two years the A. C. went on with varying fortune. I got some clerical help. Some newly appointed district agents came to me for advice and training, and in teaching them I learned a little myself. Really to understand social work we must begin at the bottom; we must come in actual contact with the clients and their needs. There are advantages which befall the secretary of a small or a poor organization, who is therefore obliged to take a share of actual casework which one who has charge of a large and wealthy society, unless he is wise and determined, usually misses. I knew the life of the working people because I

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had shared it, but I knew little about poverty. Now I learned to see things as they really were, and found more wisdom from intimate contact with poor people than I ever could have gained from the best and most scientific books.

I remember a lesson on the case of the aged poor which I got one day from one of them. She was an old Irishwoman who had lived a hard and painful life; one of the decent, cleanly, patient, hard-working, uncomplaining kind to whom charity is so repellent, so distasteful. Her tiny room, where she lived all alone, her boys and girls all gone far away or dead, bare of all but the simplest requirements, was exquisitely neat and clean. She had been living rent-free in one of Reuben Springer's numerous tenement houses and, like many more poor people, was mourning his death. Few people besides his tenants and his agent knew of his benevolences, of the scores of poor people who could not pay their rent and whom he would never allow to be evicted. She earned a few cents daily, just enough for food, making fine Irish lace which she sold to a storekeeper who made a handsome profit on it. Now Mr. Springer was dead and his estate began collecting back rents, and she applied to the Associated Charities for help. I took the case myself—as I did so far as possible with all cases that came to the central office before referring them to the districts—and I made the first visit. Her efforts to keep her own little dwelling-place, so bare of comforts and yet "home" to her, were so pathetic and seemed so futile. I talked to her glibly of the Little Sisters of the Poor, how kind they were, how much more comfortable they would make her than she could be alone. She told me she knew—that Father Daley had told her the same and that if she lived until spring she thought she would go to them, but, she said, "Oh, I hope God will let me die before the winter is over."

As time went on some of the district committees as well as the agents began to ask advice and even direction. Fortunately for me, I had read all the literature of organized charity that was then available, and although I did not know much, those who asked for advice knew even less. Then I attended the National Conference and learned much about my profession there.

VII

MY first attendance at the conference was one of the turning points in my life. I was barely recovering from my nervous breakdown and was still dispirited and discouraged. I found wonderful help and stimulus from contact with others; some struggling along much as I was, some with riper experience, nearer to success. On matters which perplexed me I usually found advice and information, always sympathy. I no longer felt alone. I had discovered splendid comrades. My spirits rose from day to day, and I went home like a new man. From that day I have known the comradeship of social welfare work, what a splendid fellowship I joined when I became a social worker. I then began to know that it is indeed a profession worthy of the best that is in any man, in the very best man. And I know of nothing that makes me feel more optimistic than does the transformation of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections itself, from what it was in 1884—a group of people concerned chiefly with various kinds of relief, corrections, punishment; at the best, amelioration—to the present National Conference of Social Work, a body of men and women whose devotion is not merely to prevention; still less to relief, but emphatically to social construction. Some of the commonplaces of the conference today would have sounded wildly radical, if not utopian, to many who were leaders then. To have had a share in that marvelous transformation fills me with gratitude to those who first caught the vision—who kindled the torch, ran with it a few steps and then handed it to others, each to carry it a little way and in turn pass it to his successor.

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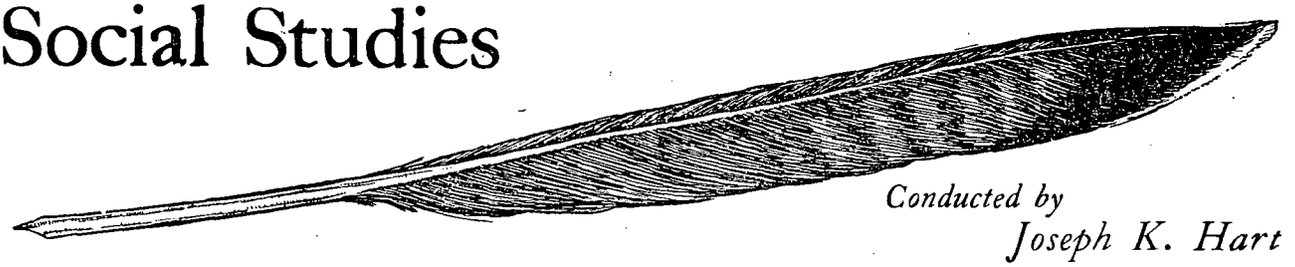

Conducted by
Joseph K. Hart

The Mantle of the Prophet

CONTRARY to the proverb and to current opinion, prophets were once highly esteemed in their own countries. They told stories; they sang songs; they promised wealth and happiness to those whom they delighted to honor; they followed mysterious rituals; they had lofty airs that persuaded even if they did not convince the people; and occasionally they offered reasonably safe conjectures about the future. They were treated with respect. But in those days life was relatively simple.

As the world became more complicated, prophesying became a precarious, not to say dangerous, business. The priests at Delphi found it expedient to frame the replies of the oracle in words that could be made to fit any turn of future events. They thus became masters of the art of ambiguity. This was a measure of desperation that was bound to work its own undoing in good time. But it served admirably for a little while.

Among the Hebrews, the primitive prophet was highly honored. He brought the people messages from the gods, interpreting the murmurings in the terebinth leaves, consulting familiar spirits. But as the culture of the people grew, the prophet's position became less estimable. Eventually, he became a jest and by-word, then a nuisance to be suppressed.

To be sure, there never was a lack of prophets. But most of them came to be regarded as "false prophets"; and these cast discredit upon all attempts to interpret life and events: they put a premium upon stupidity!

However, though the streets may be full of fools and knaves, wise men must still walk in them at times; though the air may be filled with nonsense and knavery, the wise man must occasionally speak. Prophecy is not wholly concerned with predicting the future: it is primarily concerned with the interpretation of life. Doubtless, animals can live without going to the trouble to interpret to themselves the meanings and bearings of their lives; but man cannot live that way. He must understand, organize his experience, interpret events and make the past and the present in some measure, at least, anticipate the future.

HOW shall the true prophet, the dependable interpreter be distinguished from the false prophet, the knave? A Hebrew prophet of the eighth century, B. C., laid down the only rule that, thus far, has seemed to work:

> And if thou shalt ask in thy heart, How shall we be able to know the true prophet from the false? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Jehovah, if the event that he prophesies does not happen, if it fails to come to pass, that was a false prophecy, and the author of it was a false prophet. (Deut. 18: 21, 22.)

But such a test seems to rule out all possibility of prophecy. It seems to say: "One man's guess is as good as another's, since all must wait until after the event to find out which one, if any, was correct." The test does not, however, quite mean that. All men have some presage of the future, if only about nothing more than the weather. Some are more far-sighted than others; some are more honest than others about what they see as compared with what they hope for. Hence, some are better prophets than others.

By the same token, the more honest and far-sighted a prophet is, the more will he be willing to leave the issue to the future; the less secure another is in his forecastings, the more he will insist that the issues be determined at once. Hence, the more willing a prophet is to let time be his judge, the more likely he is to turn out dependable.

Of course, no prophet can, or should, be right every time. Such a person becomes unendurable. His still incomplete mentality expands to the limits of the universe. In the words of the old metaphysical maxim: "The laws of his thought become the laws of things." He has only to engage in a little intellection in order to find out what is to happen next in the cosmos. His end is not far off!

IN recent years, science and the scientist have been ambitious to assume the mantle of the prophet. Ability to predict the future is held by some to be the true test of science. Analogies abound. The astronomer predicts eclipses with amazing accuracy. Psychologists, sociologists and economists are being told that when they have achieved a like accuracy of prediction their "sciences" will be held in like respect. Some of them believe this legend. But there may be fallacies in the analogy.

For example: when the astronomer has predicted an eclipse of the moon, the moon goes right on shining. When crowds turn out to watch the eclipse, the event takes place as scheduled: the moon fades into the shadow without shrinking and emerges without blushing. Human beings can scarcely succeed as well. They are likely to become self-conscious and spoil the performance. They may even balk at the event itself. "I wish I knew the place where I am to die," said Patrick; "I'd be sure never to go there!" With us humans, too accurate prophesying might tend to wreck the mechanisms of action. And that would make the prophet still more unpopular in his own country.

Some believe that the statistician is to be the prophet of the future. They feel that curves and graphs ought to go far toward charting the unknown. Undoubtedly, some progress will be made along this line. Every bit of real progress will be welcome. But we ought to be sure that the steps we take are real steps. Some of our hopes are dictated by our fatigues. We can scarcely expect to have today all the intelligence that will be needed tomorrow. Mathematical certainties about the future are likely to be a little too certain to be true.

The doctor was treating a patient for an obscure and dangerous malady. But he was exceedingly cheerful about the outcome. The patient was wistful. "Oh, cheer up," said the doctor; "you're going to get well. Statistics show that one per cent of these cases recover. You're my hundredth case of this sort. All the other ninety-nine died."

The prophet who knows too much about the future is likely to know too little about life and the present. But the one who knows life and the world will be able to meet the future with equanimity.

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Study Course on Social Organization

XIV. Types of Adaptation (Continued)

4. Who Thinks?

Does thinking go on in all minds? All the time? If thinking is a means of adaptation, why should one think when he is completely adapted? Does he keep on thinking? What about? If he stops thinking, what becomes of his "mind"? Or, is it true that no one is ever completely adapted?

What is meant by "lack of adaptation"? Give some common examples of it in ordinary social intercourse. Does one have to think under such conditions? Can he not run away from the conditions? Can he not "simply die"? If the lack of adaptation is sufficiently great, may he not truly die? Can you give illustrations of situations in which thinking actually saved the life of an individual or a group? Are thinkers popular? Under all circumstances? When are they most popular? What destroys their popularity?

5. Stages in Thinking

Is thinking just a gross procedure, or does it show definite steps or stages? What are those stages? What is a problem? What is the origin of our problems: do they come down upon us from the world about us? Or do they rise up within us, within our experiences? Is it advisable for us to find out what we are thinking about? Or may we just go on, thinking in general? How do we locate the problem about which we are to think?

What do people do when they find the machinery of action broken down; e. g., when an automobile breaks down on a remote country road? What good does weeping do? Should the automobile be abandoned? Never? Does it take any special equipment to "think" about a broken-down automobile? Can any one do such thinking? What special equipment must one have in order to do effective thinking about a broken-down automobile? Are chauffeurs equipped to do this thinking? Are garage keepers? Is locating the problem easy under the conditions described?

Is the problem solved as soon as it is located? What must be done next? Can fingers finish the work after the problem is located? Or must the mind be used, too? What is the difference between the novice and the expert? Does an expert have to think? Are novices useless? How does "experience" help? Does an expert ever guess? Are guesses legitimate? What do scientists call guesses? How can a guess be used in the solving of a problem? How can a guess be proved adequate or inadequate?

Does solving a problem involve any experimentations? What is an experiment? If the experiment works, is the problem solved? If it does not work, what is the next thing to be done? Should experimenting be intelligently carried on? Or may the experimenter try "any old thing"? What happens after the problem is solved?

6. Social Repairing

Is there any likeness between thinking about a machine and thinking about social problems? Is thinking about social problems legitimate? Does thinking about social problems require any sort of special equipment or training? Of what sort? Are social experts possible? Are novices useless? Does experience help in dealing with social problems? Should we have social thinkers? What should be their functions in the community? Should they be officially chosen? And implicitly obeyed?

References:

John Dewey, How We Think. D. C. Heath & Co.

James Harvey Robinson, The Mind in the Making. Harper and Brothers.

William F. Ogburn, Social Change. B. W. Huebsch.

The books mentioned on this page may be obtained through the SURVEY Book Department.

Questions on Current Issues

Constitutionality

The Learned Judges are having difficulty with laws and The Law. Say five Learned Judges: "This law now under consideration has much to commend it to us as men. But the Congress had no warrant from The Law when it enacted this law. The Law is eternal: every enactment of the Congress must be microscopically scrutinized before it is admitted into the corpus of The Law. This law does not pass the test. We are sorry for the women: but The Law must be protected. This law is null and void!"

But three (or four) other (presumably equally) Learned Judges reply (to paraphrase the famous Mr. Bumble) in effect: "If The Law means any such thing as that, The Law is a ass, a idiot! The Law is the accumulation of laws which we humans have enacted for ouf direction and our protection. Any other definition of The Law makes us the victims of metaphysicians and dialecticians, the playthings of fate!"

The problem once more precipitated upon us is as old as human thinking, the oldest of our human difficulties. Upon it schools of philosophy have been split and nations have been wrecked. The questions that it raises drive clean to the vitals of our living:

1. Has this conception that The Law is something superior to the enactments of Congress any justification? What is it? Did the people of the United States, in the organization of the government, deliberately and definitively say of themselves, "We cannot be trusted"? Did they decide to set up a sort of Absolute Judgment from which they might find out whether they were doing what they really wanted to do? Is such an Absolute Judgment possible? Would the decision in this minimum wage case have been the same no matter who had been the judges? That is to say, have all decisions of the Supreme Court partaken of the nature of Absolute Judgment?

2. Is it supposable that the people of the United States know what they want in the larger issues of social legislation? Does this decision of the court mean that the people must not attempt to protect women who work? If the people should decide to amend the Constitution so as to provide authority for minimum wage laws, would this procedure violate Justice Sutherland's conception of The Law? Does democracy assume that government is by the people? What people? Those now living, or those who wrote the original constitution? All the people, or the odd man in the Supreme Court? What would happen to a society in which the people decided to be self-directive, to let laws enacted by the representatives of the people stand? What has happened to England? How does England get along without a Supreme Court? Without a Constitution?

3. The primitive man clings to his "principles." Justice Holmes says: "To have doubted one's first principles is the mark of a civilized man." If this be true, are judges civilized men? Or are most of them still primitive? Primitive men are afraid of innovations: What do judges think about innovations? Primitive men cling to precedents: What do judges think about precedents? Should learning throttle our activities, or should it open the road of progress to us?

Reference:

The Minimum Wage Decision, by Francis B. Sayre. (p. 150)

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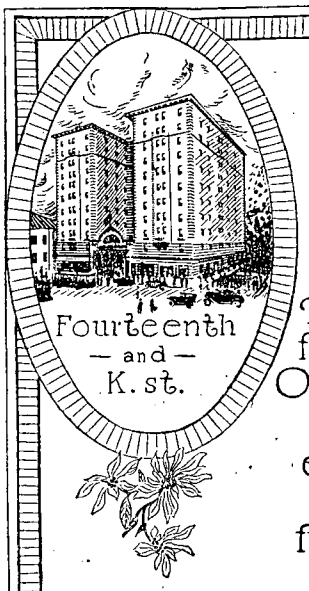

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THE MAIN BUSINESS OF INDUSTRY

(*Continued from page* 135)

men who think but the men who obey." There is a rule in the collective agreement between the coal operators and the organized miners which specifies that "the management of the mine and the direction of the working force are vested exclusively in the Operator, and the United Mine Workers of America shall not abridge that right." The revolt against the inferiority of status implicit in that rule and other rules of similar character has had much to do with the creation of the Miners' Nationalization Plan under which the miners would have an equal voice with the operators and the public in determining the policies of the industry. Such rules, which are characteristic of the prevailing spirit of industrial government, not only breed discontent but also deprive the workers of the education and discipline essential to the performance of the duties of industrial citizenship. While they are industrially unenfranchised they are not free, they cannot perform the duties safely to be entrusted only to free men.

Fortunately an increasing number of employers have come to recognize that a prime obligation of industry is that it shall be a training school in the arts of management and production. Unfortunately not many of them take the trouble to meet this obligation. The owners of the Columbia Conserve Company in Indianapolis, Indiana, are still almost unique in this respect. They have deliberately set about the task of making the management of the business democratic. They have recognized that it is a hard job to make the workers assume the responsibilities essential to their own spiritual liberation; but believing in the fundamental rightness of democracy, they have made it their main business to give the workers "the most complete opportunity to secure information about the technique of our business and also about everything we could teach them of the economic principles which apply to all industry."

The logical next step in the development of social work, the rounding out of the program of human liberation which began in the case work of the friendly visitor, lies in the field of industrial democracy. It carries the social worker into a province bristling not only with controversial political, economic and philosophic issues but also with all manner of highly technical difficulties. The tradition of industrial management has been autocratic and scornful of the spiritual integrity of the individual man. The tradition of labor has been determined by the bald struggle for economic security. Deprived of the privileges of self-government, barred out from participation in the mastery of the technique of management and production, the wage-workers have developed the belligerent attitude of the coerced which makes for indifference toward the skill of the craft when it does not degenerate into sheer sabotage. The virus bred by this absence of freedom is eating into the moral fiber as well as the economic security of the nation. It challenges the resources of social workers, transcending in its appeal the challenge of poverty itself. For it is a challenge to give men spiritual liberation as the earlier challenge was directed primarily to their liberation from physical handicaps. The irrepressible urge of mankind toward industrial democracy calls for the highest quality of vision and leadership.

When men are industrially free, then will come the problem of the mastery of the juggernaut power machine by man's creative instincts, the instincts of workmanship and love of beauty. But that still lies in the future. The next step is his liberation as an industrial citizen. For the main business and obligation of industry is not to produce cheap and abundant goods, important as that is, but primarily to create conditions in which the souls as well as the bodies of men may be unhandicapped and free.

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THE MINIMUM WAGE DECISION

(*Continued from page* 151)

land is willing to make it forever impossible for Congress to enact a living wage law.

Justice Holmes answers the majority by a forceful dissenting opinion:

The earlier decisions upon the same words in the Fourteenth Amendment began within our memory and went no farther than an unpretentious assertion of the liberty to follow the ordinary callings. Later that innocuous generality was expanded into the dogma, Liberty of Contract. Contract is not specially mentioned in the text that we have to construe. It is merely an example of doing what you want to do, embodied in the word liberty. But pretty much all law consists in forbidding men to do some things that they want to do, and contract is no more exempt from law than other acts. Without enumerating all the restrictive laws that have been upheld, I will mention a few that seem to me to have interfered with liberty of contract quite as seriously and directly as the one before us.

In no uncertain terms, Chief Justice Taft in a separate dissenting opinion similarly combats the ideas of Justice Sutherland.

The significance of the decision lies in its far-reaching consequences. If the Fifth Amendment prevents Congress from attempting to deal with industrial disputes by wage legislation, the Fourteenth Amendment prevents states from enacting similar legislation. If minimum wage legislation for women violates the constitutional right of freedom of contract, does not maximum hours legislation, in spite of Justice Sutherland's attempt to distinguish them, do the same? "I confess that I do not understand the principle on which the power to fix a minimum for the wage of women can be denied by those who admit the power to fix a maximum for their hours of work," says Justice Holmes. "I perceive no difference in the kind or degree of interference with liberty, the only matter with which we have any concern, between the one case and the other." Our constitutional framework has often been extolled upon the ground that each state furnishes a separate laboratory for social experimentation; in the industrial field, various interesting experiments such as the Kansas Industrial Court are being tried out. This decision apparently renders unconstitutional the Kansas Court and, it would seem, makes forever impossible all other legislation along similar lines involving the regulation of wages. Again, the Nineteenth Amendment gave to women the right to vote. Through some unexplained legal legerdemain, Justice Sutherland seems to suggest that this justifies a departure of the court from the principles embodied in its former decisions sustaining legislation for the protection of women. The implications of the decision are enormous; how far its underlying theory will be carried, only the Supreme Court can say.

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Mary Vida Clark
George B. Mangold
Robert Kelso

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Lillian D. Wald

Miss Nightingale, R. N. U. S. A.

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In two Sections Section II

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Who Challenges the Social Order?

Writers of fiction often take flings at professional social workers and portray them as a cold-blooded, white livered, inhuman sort of parasite that thrives on the ills of society. Social workers, on their side, often regard the literary treatment of social problems as overdrawn, ill-balanced, distorted pictures of life with no particular value as starting points for getting anything effective done. Is there any way, the editor was recently asked, by which these points of view and attitudes can be reconciled or the experience of writers and social workers be made more mutually useful? The question was put up to some who ought to know; and here are their replies.

Applied Religion — Applied Art

By THEODORE DREISER

"WHO really challenges the present social order? Who is it that most effectively directs public attention to those phases of modern life that need to be better understood to make for greater happiness—the imaginative writer or the social worker?"

I presume the term social worker is meant to include such apostles of social change as Florence Nightingale, Florence Crittenton, Henry Bergh, the founder of the Humane Society, Father Damien and, in a larger sense, John Brown, St. Francis and Jesus. Certainly John Brown was fired to martyrdom by contemplation of a social ill. And St. Francis and Jesus effected such social changes as have never been equalled by any imaginative writer.

Personally I do not know what personalities (social workers, I mean) are reflected by such social changes as are expressed by the Uniform Desertion Law, the Juvenile Court, the Mothers Pension Act, the School Nurse, the Dental Clinic, Psychological Measurements, Care of the Feeble-minded, Child Welfare and the like, but I credit them with large results and an arresting and admirable humanity.

At the same time, it seems to me, the imaginative writer who challenges the social order with a view to its improvement is really a social worker functioning in a different field and with a somewhat more popular weapon. Instead of using the law direct as a curb he seeks via the emotions to influence the human mind in favor of certain social changes agreeable to himself.

Roughly I think of such books as The Jungle (Upton Sinclair), Main Street (Sinclair Lewis), Uncle Tom's Cabin (Mrs. Stowe), Black Beauty (Anna Sewall), Nicholas Nickleby (Dickens), Oliver Twist (Dickens), Les Miserables (Hugo), Père Goriot (Balzac), as distinct and specific imaginative attacks on social and moral ills. Unquestionably their influence has been immense, but whether more so than the works and personalities of such individuals as Brown, Florence Nightingale, Father Damien, Henry Bergh, etc., I would not be able to say. Certainly no writer imaginative or didactic has ever, as I have suggested, effected such social changes as did Jesus and St. Francis.

Personally I see no reason for quarrels between those whose aim is social amelioration whatever their methods of attack. With these, however, as I must point out, the higher phases of imaginative art have nothing in common. These latter are not concerned with social amelioration as an end or a motive. Rather their purpose is to present life in the round, good, bad and indifferent, alike, without thought of change and without hope of improvement. They paint the thing as it is, leaving change to nature or to others. These include such distinguished figures as Shakespeare, Molière, Goethe, George Sand, De Maupassant, Flaubert, Chekov, Anatole France, Dostoievsky and George Moore. They possess the artist's viewpoint. They have nothing in common with either the imaginative writer bent on social change or the social worker who wishes to bring about social improvement. With them they can scarcely be contrasted, let alone compared.

Grubs and Butterflies

By ROBERT W. KELSO

SOCIAL workers and novelists hold each other in some contempt even though a herculean task in interpretation stands waiting, and these two are the actors. It is a domestic quarrel with reason, as usual, on both sides. Both err in assuming that their respective abilities are exclusive. As matters stand, the novelist is short on subject matter and long on form. The social worker is rich in material and inarticulate. If the two were to join forces they might be able, as the hibernian phrase has it, to make one good decent show!

Our imaginative writers sense the highly dramatic, whereas the real truths of life lie mostly in the sub-plot. Imagination sees the butterfly flit carefree across the garden: but to her who in the love of cabbages hoes and tends them is it given to know the lowly habits of the worm. Wherefore the novelist deals largely with "facts," but the truth is not in them; and the case-worker strikes vigorously with her hoe, nor raises the rim of her bonnet nor sees a public waiting to be told.

It is not too severe a criticism to say that the modern mind suffers from a sort of literary praecox brought on by imaginative writing of the poorer sort. As a cherry tree needs pruning, or a house needs cleaning in the spring; so do the circulating libraries of this nation need a brushing and a scouring and a deal of toting away of dank pages, not good even for pulp.

Our younger folk are devouring these same habit-forming pages, at the rate of a book a day, it may be; spoiling their minds for literature of worth. Worst of these drugs of fiction are the lurid stories based upon false appraisal of home values. Down to this present generation these vain imaginings were limited to two dimensions upon the printed page. Today they have been erected into a third dimension by the cinematograph.

And all this while the social worker has been hoeing feverishly, developing better technique; learning through improved methods of research; analyzing the elements of gregarious life. Man, a social animal, sick from the very proximities of high speed living, must know himself. Your social worker is the student of that social complex.

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Let it then be a prophecy that the imaginative writer will come to endear himself to social work, telling its story in his inimitable but more truthful way; and that another decade will see the rise of a new species of voice in the land—the social worker who is also the genius in imaginative expression.

A Question of Quality

By MARY ROBERTS RINEHART

AS a rule, the writer and the social worker find themselves miles apart: The social worker sees in the writer one who sits at a desk and capitalizes the results of the other person's furious effort. The writer, on the other hand, often fails to see the real ideal of service that underlies the social worker's activities. His attitude is likely to be cynical. With the current idea that no one's motives are unselfish, he suspects the salaried social worker of working for his own ends; and the volunteer of pernicious activity or faddism.

The social worker's quarrel with imaginative writers has its basis in fact. Only those few writers who have themselves entered the field of service have ever presented any accurate pictures of conditions as they exist, and even then the very fact that they are imaginative writers reacts in their work.

The plain truth is that facts are not always interesting, and also that we are so accustomed to highly colored propaganda that we will, as readers, accept nothing else. We must have our pill sugar-coated.

But the social worker, more and more dependent on public support for the success of his various causes, must have publicity of an interesting sort. He needs the writer more than the writer needs him, so long as he himself remains inarticulate. And the reason he has not elicited the support he requires is two-fold.

First: The old and outworn tradition that only those devoted themselves to social service who were unfit for anything else.

Second: That if the writer capitalizes the miseries of humanity in his books, the *paid* social worker capitalizes them and lives by them.

The literary tradition that these men and women who devote themselves to social service are a sect apart, that devotion to the cause of the poor and the victims of social injustice marks the individual for persecution, jeering and otherwise, date back to the time of the Christ.

But there has been, in the past, a certain justification for this prejudice. Like many great causes, the work has suffered by the quality of some of its workers. And even so recently as the great war, certain *morale* organizations suffered severely in public esteem by the unfitness of a portion of their personnel.

Not until this condition was discovered, and the unfit replaced with workers of a more robust type, did the *morale* work prosper. But what lay behind this situation, as it developed in France, was what has always constituted the weakness in social work in the past. That is, the failure of volunteer service.

There is no place in social work for the well-meaning blunderer. There is no room for the faddist, for those actuated only by a temporary generous impulse, or for those who drift into it through unfitness for anything else.

Unfortunately, these eliminations have reduced the working personnel, while the work itself has constantly increased in value and importance to the nation. The result has been inevitable, and so we come to the second reason, the *paid* social worker.

Volunteer service is almost totally unreliable from an administrative point of view. And social service work has become a great and vital business. Quite aside from the Christian duty of improving the condition of the lowly, there is the necessity of waging a fight against the discontent and misery which breeds revolution.

The social worker's task, then, has ceased to be only a privilege, and has become a responsible duty. It is not enough to say that the laborer is worthy of his hire. It is necessary to go further and to say that the worker in this particular field must be the best that money can get. With the question of our national security at stake, the social worker becomes an element in our national defense, a *morale* factor of great importance.

It has also become a great business. It handles vast sums of money. It requires skill in handling those sums, executive ability for proper disbursement. It will require, in the near future, efficiency managers to prevent the present over-lapping activities and consequent waste.

The proper administration of funds for relief is as much a business as the proper administration of government revenues. And volunteer labor alone cannot do it.

But the prejudice continues, and not entirely without basis even now. For every one who faces the situation will recognize that, just as there are writers who prostitute their ability, there are social workers who thrive on the ills of society, and secure comfortable salaries and soft jobs at a minimum of service. But they are not in majority.

Unfortunately for the workers themselves, they have never adequately put their cause before the world. And no one else can do it for them. Unfortunately too, for the world, service and the ideals that lie behind it are difficult to put into words. This translation of faith into works, this new religion of brotherhood and helpfulness, lies deeper than speech.

And the worker is not a writer. They labor in different fields. They are not competitive, for the worker acts, the writer interprets. And the writer can only interpret through what lies in himself. If he is callous to humanity, he will fail to see the vision that must lie behind the social service movement. If he loves his kind, if he can suffer with them and for them, if he himself has sacrificed to serve, then and only then can he see the vision and interpret it.

The Challenge of Facts

By GEORGE B. MANGOLD

I believe that neither the imaginative writer nor the social worker enjoys a monopoly in the promotion of social progress. Furthermore, it seems to me that the literary treatment of social programs may be made an effective agent for public service. Progress depends quite as much on feeling as it does on reason, and many good scientific men and women make a mistake in believing that no changes can occur until every point has been carefully worked out and both sides of the problem have been considered. Our "child-labor" and "minimum wage" legislation have depended for success not so much on the cold facts as on the sentiment that it has been possible to generate from the knowledge of particular concrete situations. It is these which the writer can weave into his story and use in the development of constructive sentiment on some particular problem.

The professional social worker is keenly alive to human ills and has in him the same red blood that characterizes the writer, but he is dealing largely with practical situations. He is a sort of social cement which binds together the antagonistic groups in society and conserves the advance

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that has been made. More and more the social worker is responsible for the development of practical standards of human conduct and human relationship, and his work applies both to individuals and to groups. It is he who furnishes the community with that solid array of facts which must be supplied to that group swayed only by the logic of fact and truth. Students of the development of social work must know that the social worker is no longer limited to the intricacies of petty duties, but that he looks forward to the elimination of the conditions responsible for the problems which he faces. The challenge to the social order can only come out of the live facts of a situation. It is not possible for any group of people to develop sentiment out of nothing. It is the trained social worker who has seen the outcome of malevolent forces in society and who realizes the necessity of their elimination. Nevertheless, the serene and conservative social studies which he may put forth are less effective themselves than is the restatement of the problem by the novelist or popular writer. And yet, without the basis of fact furnished by the social worker it would be impossible to blaze the way for better things. Readers must know that the story is truth if not fact. Both the writer and the social worker must recognize the contributions that can be made by each of them. Their work dovetails. It is not antagonistic although there is no doubt but that a stupid ignorance by some writer of the psychology of his readers may greatly harm his cause. The social worker builds on the past; he is an evolutionist and a progressive. Probably the writer more frequently challenges the existing social order and it is he who reaches that vast army of men and women whom the social worker does not ordinarily touch, but who are needed to make sentiment effective and to bring about permanent social changes. Reason and sentiment are both necessary. Neither can succeed without the other. The writer alone will accomplish but little and the social worker likewise would find the way long and dreary.

Tu Quoque!

By MARY VIDA CLARK

THE best amateur is the retired professional or, under less fortunate circumstances, the professional out of work. Only one who has been subjected to the discipline of a job knows the true inwardness of the department of human knowledge embraced by that profession.

So also the only authentic writer on social problems is one who is or has been a social worker—trained for a job and experienced in it and by it. The writings of others never quite ring true to the essential soul of the subject. Frequently what these others

"say and do
Is eloquent, is well—but 'tis not true!"

When the professional social worker is confronted with the output of a professional writer on social themes he has a strangely baffled feeling. It is hard to say what is the matter—except that it is all wrong—but to give a bill of particulars—ah, there's the rub! Every statement may be correct and capable of proof, but no real social worker, experienced and capable of digesting his experience and being mentally nourished by it, would say the same thing in the same way, or would fail to give certain obvious implications of such statements, or to present the obvious associations of ideas that such statements would suggest. The social worker may feel that the writer has said the things that he ought not to have said and has failed to say the things that he ought to say, and that there is no health in him—yet he can no more put his finger on the offending untruth than on a jumping parasite.

That is, in fact, what the writer too frequently is—a sort of parasite on the subject to which he contributes nothing but irritation and to which he in no true sense belongs, but on which he lives and moves and has his wretched being—a liability to his host, and sometimes a traitor to the soul and body that nourish him.

Let us organize a literary union of social workers and put under the ban the output of those who have not prepared themselves by the austere discipline of an authentic job in social service.

Right Arm and Left Arm

By CLEMENT WOOD

THOUGHTFUL men look more and more askance at judgments against a human group, at indictments against a class. Whether that class be goose-stepping Germans, English phlebotomizing East Indian and Egyptian, Jews, Negroes, social workers, or writers, the only apt appraisal is the individual one.

The roots of the writers' dispraise of social workers lies in the terms of their livelihood. There is epidemic misery in the present social order; this breeds growing protest. Those largely immune from the pain, who ride on the financial crest and desire its perpetuation without a protestant overturn, as well as those who would relish its symphony more without the wild discord of man's distress, finance social work, to serve one of these two purposes. Where is a man's pay-check, there is his heart also—was not alive in Israel and interred today. The thoughtful, unawed man or woman in social work still produces a body thrust like the Interchurch Federation report on the steel industry; the sycophant still gilds over the dry rot, and joins the pious chant that day by day in every way things grow better and better. The majority lies between these strident extremes.

Writers who deal with social problems of moment vary as widely, from a Thomas Dixon to an H. A. Shands, from a Hearst editorial writer to an Upton Sinclair. Between these poles lie the majority. Writers, as social workers, are but men; and the Gaussian curve still functions.

Neither the writer nor the social worker, as such, challenges the present social order. Some from each class do. You must have noticed their brief obituaries. Or you will. Some from both classes embalm the social putrefaction, and bulletin it sound. Their obituaries are postponed from the time when their social vision dies, to the unimportant tardy hour when the already dead die bodily. And that is last column first page stuff.

As to which most effectively turns public opinion to the cure of social sores, both are needed. The Impending Crisis was a great book, banned from the floors of Congress as treason to Christ's sacrament of slavery for the Negro—I paraphrase what my fathers held. Then there was a pause. A spark, perhaps from it, lit one woman's sympathy, and Uncle Tom's Cabin, a vastly lesser book, was a prairie fire over the nation. The Jungle did more than a hundred dietetic investigations could have done. In these two cases the imaginative writer did more; there are many examples upon the other side.

Perhaps the question is like the debate between the right and the left leg, as to which really does the walking. If they separate, locomotion differs vastly. They can cooperate effectively after admiring the fit and rejecting the fitted in both crafts. After all, they are two legs to one body, two arms both needed to lift the man who fell among thieves; and, after he is safe in the inn, two arms to deal with the thieves, as the socially sick need to be dealt with.

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Recorders of Human Nature

By AGNES MURRAY CHAMBERLAYNE

MOST modern fiction is based on study of human relations. Social case work, likewise, is an examination of the materials of which the drama of life is made. The social caseworker sees much of the hidden side of men's lives. If he has observed keenly and understood clearly, he should be a valuable critic of much of our literature. But has he not also something to learn from the writers of novel and drama about vivid and concise—in short, effective ways of interpreting human facts? Are the practical, technical requirements of the social case record too hard to permit of its becoming a document in which we can feel and see life? Few of us who have been caseworkers would admit, I think, that these requirements are limiting to such a degree. Yet, we must also admit, in too many instances the social case record has scarcely any vitality, any power to make us see the people with whom it deals, to realize their personalities, as the novelist or playwright would make us see them. How many people, for instance, would recognize in the following case record the substance of a recent outstanding dramatic success, a play that has added materially to the reputation of its author and given a well-known American actress an opportunity for her finest work? I have tried to make it neither better nor worse than many social case records with which I have been familiar:

Aug. 6. Case referred to S. S. by Dr. G. who says that girl will be discharged in a day or two and, so far as he knows, has no place to go. Admitted to hospital July 26, transferred from jail infirmary, diagnosis, debility. Hospital diagnosis, malnutrition, nervous exhaustion. Wassermann neg. Gc. neg. Present condition fairly good, except that girl is undernourished and should have convalescent care with rest and good food.

" " Phoned jail. Matron said Anna sentenced July 3 from municipal court.

" " Phoned probation office, municipal court. Record showed Anna in court July 3 with a number of other women following raid on house in which they were all found to be living. All given thirty days' jail sentence.

Aug. 7. Interviewed Anna, who at first refused to answer any questions. When worker indicated that she knew circumstances of court sentence, became more communicative. Said she had come to St. Paul from the country where she had been brought up by relatives, and had worked as nurse-girl, but for last two years had been in disorderly houses. Plans to go to her father, who she says is a janitor in a New York apartment house, where she thinks she can stay until she is rested. Refused to consider going to convalescent home, and refused to give any previous addresses or references of former employers or of Minnesota relatives. Finally consented to give name and address of father in New York.

" " Letter to New York ———— Society, asking visit and report on circumstances of father.

Aug. 8. Saw Anna on ward. Has been told she is to be discharged today. Tried to persuade her to remain in city until word received from N. Y. but she insists on going immediately, although she admits that she has not heard recently from her father and that he may not be in a position to help her.

Aug. 9. Hosp. report shows Anna discharged yesterday.

" " Letter to N. Y. explaining developments and asking them to get in touch with girl if possible

Aug. 12. Letter from N. Y. Address given is a saloon where Mr. C. receives his mail. He is captain of a coal barge. Visitor talked with saloon keeper who said Mr. C. left yesterday for Boston, taking his daughter with him. Case referred to Boston ———— Society.

Thus is dessicated the first act of Eugene O'Neill's Anna Christie. A record could surely be made more human than this!

Let us assume that the Boston worker who goes out on the case has either a clearer vision or more time to write up his report than the previous visitors. Could he give us anything of what O'Neill has conveyed? We recognize immediately that his task, if he attempts this, is more difficult than the setting down of bare facts in the previous record. A social case history cannot be a mere statement, however skilfully made, of the worker's impressions and opinions without the backing of evidence; whereas the author, we feel, can carry off anything that he can make sufficiently convincing. Let us see what the Boston worker might do:

Aug. 20. Letter received from N. Y. ———— Society referring case.

" " Visited. After some difficulty, succeeded in finding coal barge "Simeon Winthrop" of which Mr. C. is captain. Found Anna alone in cabin. Seemed worn and tired as if from severe nervous strain. Looked as if she had been crying. Visitor talked with her for some time, found that she expects to be married tonight to a young sailor, Mat Burke. He is now ashore with her father making some business arrangements, and is to return to get her, shortly.

Visitor asked if she were not happy; her face lighted up and she said she had never been so happy before. Said she loved Mat so much she wouldn't marry him until he knew all about her, and when he found out what she had done he had gone away and she thought he would never come back. She had been desperate, waiting for him for two days, and then had decided to go back to New York and her old life; but when she was in the station and had bought her ticket, she suddenly "couldn't go," so came back to the ship and then Mat came.

Said she thought the sea changed her. Her father had told her all her ancestors had been sailors, and that he had dreaded the life of a "sailor's woman" for her, and so had kept her all her life with relatives inland. She always hated the farm life and when she was sixteen had run away to the city where she had obtained employment as a nurse-girl. But "the men were always after her,"—it had begun, she told visitor, with a boy cousin on the farm, whom she disliked and whose attentions were the cause of her running away—and after struggling for two years to keep straight, she had given up. Her father had thought she was still a nurse-girl, and she had never intended that he should know the truth.

Then she had come on to New York, and had come with her father on this trip, and though he had done his best to make her dread and fear

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the sea, she had felt more peaceful and happy than she had ever done, "as if she belonged there." Finally Mat came on board, picked up from a small boat after his ship had been lost in a storm, and when she realized that he loved her because he thought she was straight, and different from the women he had known, she was "nearly crazy." She had thought about it for days, and had decided to give him up rather than let him know her past, and than he and her father had quarrelled, her father unwilling to have her marry a sailor, and each assuming that she was his to dispose of as he pleased, "just like all the rest," until she "got so mad she let out on them and told them the whole story."

That was two days ago, and both men had left her alone until today, when her father had come back realizing that he was partly to blame, and offering to go find Mat and get him to marry her. She had refused, and then Mat had come back, and she had succeeded in making him see that she was changed and that she had never loved any of "those others," and now everything was all right.

Mat and her father had both signed on the same ship, the "Londonderry"—each without the other's knowledge—and were sailing for South Africa tomorrow, but her father had arranged to have all his pay sent to her every month, and Mat had gone ashore to do the same, and she would have a nice home waiting for him when he got back.

She seemed very happy at the prospect, and when visitor asked if she were not afraid to wait so long for him to come back, she expressed perfect confidence in Mat's affection and fidelity. Asked if she was not afraid she would be tempted to go back to her old life, she laughed outright and said, "Gee, you must think it's some different from what it is, if you think any girl'd want to go back, once she got away."

This is more difficult to achieve. Does it lose its practical value in its attempt to capture something of the spirit of the girl? If not, does it reproduce at all the atmosphere, the color, which O'Neill makes us feel? In the play, the girl tells her story briefly:

"The joint I was in out in St. Paul got raided. That was the start. The judge give all us girls thirty days. The others didn't seem to mind being in the cooler much. Some of 'em was used to it. But me, I couldn't stand it. It got my goat right—couldn't eat or sleep or nothing. I got good and sick and they had to send me to the hospital. It was nice there. I was sorry to leave it." And later, "And if I told you that just getting out in this barge, and being on the sea had changed me and made me feel different about things... you'd laugh, wouldn't you? I wanted to marry you and fool you, but I couldn't. Don't you see how I'd changed. I couldn't marry you with you believing a lie—and I was shamed to tell you the truth—till the both of you forced my hand. Will you believe me if I tell you that loving you has made me—clean? Like hell you will! You're like all the rest!" And again, later: "Then I gave up hope when you didn't show up and I went to the railroad station. I was going to New York. I was going back——— But—in the station—I couldn't go. I'd bought my ticket and everything. Don't you see I've changed."

In this case, of course, the social record must condense into a single interview with a single individual all that the author has put in a four-act play that gives us direct contact with six or eight people each of whom contributes to the convincing quality of the story. Many case histories which include the reports of the various people concerned or record significant events as they happen could gain a similar vividness.

It is not that the material with which these records deal is lacking in dramatic quality or is in itself different from the material used by the novelist. Les Miserables, The Scarlet Letter, Vanity Fair, for classic examples, and, among the moderns, Leonard Merrick's One Man's View, Frank Swinnerton's Nocturne and Coquette, Sherwood Anderson's Winesburg, Ohio, Knut Hamsun's Hunger—these and countless others might well have appeared as the case records of some social agency. A whole file of case histories could be developed from almost any one of Dickens's novels. And on the other hand, no social caseworker could find in his files anything apparently more commonplace and undramatic than the situations which have given to many writers a framework for some of the most profound as well as the most subtle pictures of human relationships. For striking examples of this method we turn to the French. Flaubert, Balzac, de Maupassant, in such pieces as Madame Bovary, Eugenie Grandet, and A Piece of String, take lives which in their superficial events seem entirely ordinary, and bring out the elements of drama and tragedy that are in them. Katherine Mansfield and Aldous Huxley are contemporary English examples of the use of similar material.

THE novelist and the social caseworker have in common fundamental aims which should produce certain similarities in the results of their work. They share the desire to create a picture, to make the people whom they have seen—whether actually or in the mind—stand out as real and vivid, as individuals who, however much they may resemble other individuals of the same race or class or situation, have nevertheless certain distinctions which set them apart and which constitute their claim to individual attention. Surely, this principle lies back of the whole theory of case work as opposed to social legislation and to other social activities which are based on common rather than individual needs. And surely, however much it may be lost sight of, this principle must be the basis of the case history—the fundamental reason for having a detailed record of the dealings of an organization with each family or individual under its care.

Again, the necessity for analyzing, for presenting in detail the situation in which people find themselves, is one common to the writer of fiction and the writer of case histories. The "problem" novel or play, so-called, is no longer talked of; but the fact remains that practically every piece of realistic drama or fiction contains a problem. The problem may be one of mental traits, as in Galsworthy's recent play Loyalties, or of circumstances, as in his earlier Silver Box; it may or may not be left to the reader to guess the final outcome, but the problem—what writers sometimes call the situation—nevertheless exists. In like manner the situation with which the caseworker deals may develop to a satisfactory conclusion or may be found to be one with which it is impossible to deal successfully. In either case it is essential that the situation be so clearly, so fully analyzed that no doubt is left of the reasons for each step that is taken to adjust the individual to his environment, or, if adjustment is impossible, of the reasons for failure. Each writer, if he is to succeed, has to make his story convincing to the reader; each must produce a picture which will stand out vividly and present a situation which has been grasped in its main elements.

The most striking difference between the task confronting the maker of the case record and that of the writer of fiction is created by the element of time. The successful novelist finds the style best suited for bringing out the particular bit of human life he has chosen to portray, and most congenial to his own temperament. He then works as long as he feels is necessary to produce the effect he is seeking. When the caseworker comes to presenting similar material,

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instead of having three months, six months or two years in which to mull over each history, to decide how it may best be presented, just which facts of all those in his possession to include and which to leave out, he usually is fortunate if he has half an hour in which to consider all this and actually dictate his story. Could the novelist do better in the same circumstances? The method chosen, under these conditions, becomes almost inevitably that which is easiest for the particular worker: either he jots down a mass of detail, grouped, perhaps, under the general headings of health, home conditions, financial situation, but without other selection; or rigidly eliminates all observations that have no direct bearing on the immediate problem with which he is concerned. This last method produces the record with which we are all too familiar, complete perhaps as to external facts, but leaving the reader in the dark as to what manner of people he is reading about. Their personal characteristics, their temperaments are doubtless a definite part of the knowledge of the writer of the history; but the difficulty of putting into words these intangible qualities, and especially the difficulty of reconciling them with the exacting form of the record, its invariable statement of the source of information, its emphasis on concrete observations rather than conclusions, makes it easier to leave them out.

We cannot deny the need of including the sources of information, nor the importance of eliminating vague generalizations and opinions from the reports. Much time and effort have been spent in making the record of the greatest possible practical value as an aid in understanding and solving the problems of the family. We must not, however, imagine that because we have done away with the inaccuracies of the personal equation in the record, we have likewise eliminated them from the impression produced by it.

THE social record must, above all, serve an immediate practical purpose and must for this reason contain many facts which the novelist, if he chooses a more impressionistic method in writing up the same story, may eliminate without loss of clearness. Then again, the social worker frequently sets down facts or observations which, in the light of further developments, have little relevancy to the situation but which at the time seem important. He cannot plan ahead and see the outcome of his story, the events which are to lead up to its climax. So it becomes impossible for him to choose material in the same way in which the novelist chooses it. And, of course, he cannot exercise the novelist's prerogative of omniscience, of looking into the minds of his characters and reading their thoughts.

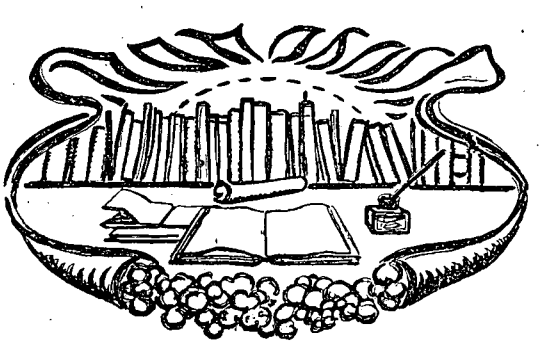
Yet, the imaginative writer no less than the recorder of facts is exposed to the dangers of professionalism—the tendency, that is, to make the form of the story an end in itself, the tendency, even, to make his work what the public or the person in authority seems to demand, rather than what he himself feels to be true to life. The novelist may become sentimental, romantic, satirical or he may cater to a taste for pictures of the dreary, depressing sordid side of life. The social worker, also suffering from too great attention to a set standard imposed from the outside, whether intentional or unconscious, may become over-technical, with a tendency to condense for the sake of uniformity until language becomes a meaningless jargon, the client's personality loses all flavor, and the record is made to read as much as possible like a hospital chart. Or he, too, may see too much of the same color tone in the life about him.

When the novelist or dramatist describes life not realistically as he sees it but critically, applying to it his own reflections, we may yet accept and admire it, provided the work be honest and the personality a strong one. An outstanding example of this type of writing is George Bernard Shaw. Though his people are not "true to life" in the ordinary sense, we listen to them to know Shaw's thought about them and the situations in which they find themselves.

The social worker as a recorder is rather more like a pane of glass, revealing objects but not itself seen. A poor record may be a wonderful expression of the personality of the writer, but we would rather he found other means of expression. Nevertheless, no one writing case histories can be altogether a pane of glass. There will, obviously, be almost as marked individual variation among good records as between good records and bad. And no really good record can fail to reveal to some degree the personality of the writer, no matter how carefully he may try to subdue his own opinion and feelings, just as any objective piece of descriptive writing must reflect the author.

The desirability, as well as the possibility, of making every social case record as distinct, as individual, as a good play or novel, may well be questioned from the point of view of the statistician or of the student of social problems. But if we grant that, without loss of immediate or ultimate practical value, the social record can profitably be made more truly a picture of the life of the individuals who form its subject, then indeed we cannot urge too strongly upon the attention of caseworkers the value of keeping company with the writers of fiction, and of studying their methods of clear, accurate and simple portrayal of human lives.

It is not too much to expect of the overburdened caseworker that he should bring to his clients the same sensitiveness, the same illuminating and penetrating insight that the novelist shows toward the children of his imagination. And it is not only to the modern realist that he may go for help. Any of the great writers, from Chaucer —if we dare go so far back—to Hardy, any writer, however unskilled in other ways, who sets down truly and vividly the human nature he has observed, can be of practical help to the social caseworker. It may be objected that this seemingly simple and fundamental qualification—to set down truly and vividly the human nature observed—is a gift possessed only by great writers. But this need not discourage us, who will never be known among the immortals, from learning all we can from them.



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Fifty Years of Child Welfare

By LILLIAN D. WALD

THREE books have been selected by the president of the Fiftieth Anniversary National Conference of Social Work as marking distinct eras in the consciousness of social relationship in America. The nomenclature current in the periods cited is in itself an indication of the changing attitudes, or perhaps of the changing circumstances with which students of the social order are vitally concerned.

As illustrated by three books:

DANGEROUS CLASSES
Charles Loring Brace—1872
HOW THE OTHER HALF LIVES
Jacob A. Riis—1890
THE HOUSE ON HENRY STREET
Lillian D. Wald—1915

As it would be manifestly impossible in a brief article to cover the wide range of social conditions in the three epochs, this article will consider the condition of children, and the social convictions concerning them, as reflected in the philosophy, institutions and legislation of the times.

Dangerous Classes—1872

LORING BRACE discovered and gave eloquent and moving testimony to the existence of a class labeled "dangerous to society." He knew that his discovery would probably be a matter of indifference to prosperous and complacent New York, unless he showed that the existence of this "class" was a threatening menace.

The picture that he presented to the dwellers behind the brownstone fronts depicted little children sharing their night's lodging with the wharf rats, asleep in barrels, under stoops and stairways; waifs there were in large numbers unhoused, unwashed, unwarmed, unfed and unmothered.

With the memory of the draft riots of 1863 still in his mind, Brace probably represented the universal attitude of the educated toward the denizens of the so-called "slums." He says:

> Let but the law lift its hand from them for a season, or let the civilizing influence of American life fail to reach them, and, if the opportunity offered, we should see an explosion from this class which might leave the city in ashes and blood.

And indeed the situation cried out for help; there were from twenty to thirty thousand homeless, vagrant youth; sixty thousand illiterate; but, despite these facts, Brace writes:

> Crime and pauperism were not deeply stamped in the blood of the population—a boundless hope pervaded and there was no fixity of despair.

The establishment of the Newsboys' Lodging House, most identified with his propaganda, was supposed to meet this urgent need, and child-saving agencies were given an impetus in America unknown before the stirring challenge of Loring Brace.

Another reaction, however, was manifest in the juvenile literature of the day, wherein the two-legged "wharf rats" were depicted as lads of heroic stature, accomplishing great feats and usually marrying the employer's daughter.

Though social work, implying the trained approach now so familiar to students and socially minded people, had not been conceived, the pioneer work for later development was undoubtedly laid in Brace's discovery and the fact that he formulated methods to remedy the evils as he saw them and roused interest in his "discovery."

New York in 1872 was another world. People were not ashamed to call the edges of the city "slums." The annual death rate of New York was 28.79 per thousand. [In 1922 it was 11.93.] For Gotham Court, on Cherry Street, the rate was 195 per thousand. The conditions in New York at that time, while perhaps no worse than those in London, Glasgow, Naples, Amsterdam, or Marseilles, were frightful, though the city was not yet built up. The Metropolitan Board of Health in 1866 reported a population of 196,510 per square mile, or sixteen square yards per person in the Eleventh Ward, and in the Fourth Ward—the section once the home of President Washington, and where our Governor "Al" Smith was born—were huge barracks, one said to contain 1,500 persons, underground cellars crowded with people. Our author tells of a dark, smoky cellar that was home for two men and their wives, a girl of thirteen, two men and a boy of seventeen, a mother and two boys of fifteen and ten, a mother and two boys of nine and eleven, a total of fourteen persons—and he adds that such conditions are frequent.

From the three prefaces:

1872

The cheapest and most efficacious way of dealing with the Dangerous Classes of large cities is not to punish them, but to prevent their growth; to so throw the influences of education and discipline and religion about the abandoned and destitute youth of our large towns; to so change their material circumstances, and draw them under the influence of the moral and fortunate classes, that they shall grow up as useful producers and members of society, able and inclined to aid in its progress.

1890

The sufferings and the sins of the "other half," and the evil they breed are but just punishment upon the community that gave it no other choice. . . . The tenements are the hot-beds of the epidemics that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts; that throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks to the island asylums and workhouses year by year; that turned out in the last eight years a round half million beggars to prey upon our charities.

1915

During the two decades of the existence of the Settlement there has been a significant awakening on matters of social concern, particularly those affecting the protection of children throughout society in general; and a new sense of responsibility has been aroused among men and women, but perhaps more distinctively among women, since the period coincides with their freer admission to public and professional life. The Settlement is in itself an expression of this sense of responsibility.

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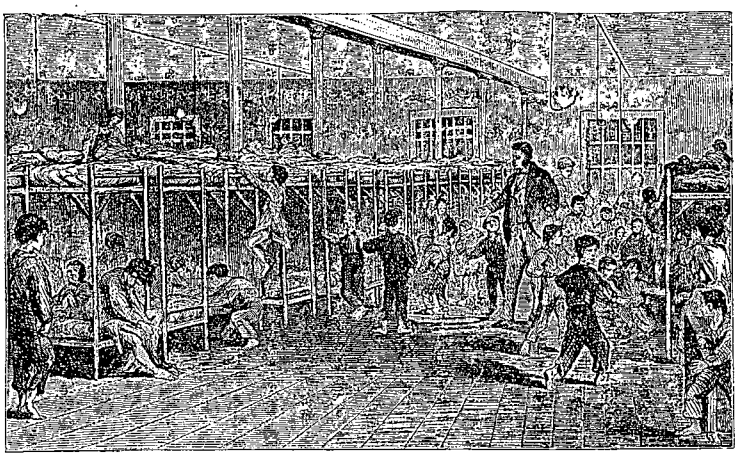

IN 1872
The newsboys' house, from 'the Dangerous Classes of New York by Charles Loring Brace

The first tenement house law, passed in 1867, gave discretionary power to the Board of Health established the year before, and in reality was never enforced. In fact, not until 1895, when the Tenement House Act was passed, was provision made for enforcement of the statute.

There was no compulsory education law before 1874. The truancy law of 1853 exempted from school attendance all children engaged in "lawful" occupation, a term which was very generously defined. In 1856 the New York Times, speaking of the homeless children under twelve, said:

> Prussia has long practiced a compulsory educational system on the gentle and simple alike. . . . Whether we here in New York, with our jargon of languages in the lower strata of society, can do anything under the same involuntary methods to catch hold of the 30,000 young vagrants that fill our gutters, is doubtful. But experiments in our educational as in our industrial system, will have to be made if we are to hold our rank as an enlightened city.

The Newsboys' Lodging House had already been established by Brace before he wrote his book, and the homeless lad aroused the social conscience most readily. The motive, in part, at least, is indicated in an editorial of 1867, which read:

> It is a cheap and beautiful substitute for jails and gallows, and puts human beings to better uses than hangings, while they are fit for better uses. By all means let it be perpetuated as indispensable to humanity and public safety.

But Brace saw the need of other reforms, and his program showed prophetic genius. Some of its planks should be posted upon the highways to show what has been accomplished, and also to rebuke the slothfulness of social enterprise.

Students need to be reminded that the period of the seventies antedated the tide of immigration. America was "the land of opportunity." The sufferings of the poor were considered due either to misfortune or their own shiftlessness. The Benjamin Franklin axioms were the infallible remedies, to which was added Horace Greeley's "Go West, young man." The great idea was to get rid of the elements with supposed criminal inclinations, mixed with the genuine belief that the West gave unlimited golden opportunities. This philosophy is reflected in a farewell speech of a small newsboy to his friends before traveling to the farmer in the West, which Mr. Brace quotes:

> Boys, guntlemen, chummies: Perhaps you'd like to hear summit about the West, the great West, the great West, where you know so many of our old friends are settled down and growin' up to be great men, maybe the greatest men in the great Republic. Boys, that's the place for growing Congressmen, and Governors and Presidents. Do you want to be newsboys always, and shoeblacks, and timer merchants in a small way by selling matches? If you do you'll stay in New York, but if you don't you'll go West and begin to be farmers, for the beginning of a farmer, my boys, is the making of a Congressman and a President. . . . How do you know but, if you are honest and good and industrious, you may get so . . . you'll have servants of all kinds to tend you.

Public funds were contributed in very small measure indeed, and the following indicates the prevailing point of view in relative values. In 1867, the legislature appropriated $30,000 for the Children's Aid Society, $40,000 for the House of Reformation for Juvenile Delinquents, $12,000 for city dispensaries, $100,000 for Inebriates' Asylum, and a year later $75,000 for "additional facilities for burying pauper dead."

Dangerous Classes, the book, revealed the social measure of the times in its omission of all comment on the frightful sweat shops and very slight reference to the causes of poverty.

How the Other Half Lives 1890

JACOB RIIS, whose lovable personality is not forgotten, contributed a most important service in his warm-hearted advocacy of the "children of the slums." Conditions had vastly changed on the lower East Side, the same section for which Brace had labored, but the conditions of housing, inadequate schooling and lack of recreation had crept up the whole length of Manhattan Island, and, though a good deal of social legislation had been passed in the previous twenty years, it was badly enforced.

Riis, in his book, designated the people who lived in what he still called the "slums," as *different,* indicating it in the title of the book.

In 1884 the Tenement House Commission called the attention of the legislature to the need for small parks in ten districts, but it was not until 1896 that the first of the small parks of New York, which have since arisen on the debris of destroyed slums, was finished at Mulberry Bend. This was the location singled out by Jacob Riis himself, in the neighborhood of Police Headquarters, from which the dear man had cried out with dramatic effectiveness against the

IN 1890
A rag pickers' home, from How theOtherHalfLives by Jacob A. Riis

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wrongs to the little children. He told stories to illustrate his point, with inimitable tenderness. "Perfectly good children spoiled," was his appraisal. He brought flowers from his country home; and though he witnessed, as reporter in the police courts, the tragedies of crime and misdemeanor, he saw that children were eternally precious. He was in part responsible for what might be called the chief characteristic of the early nineties, in regard to the betterment of the conditions of the poor, namely, a wholesome spirit of inquiry.

People like Riis no longer took for granted the necessity for slums or the viciousness of their inhabitants; and, in discussing the causes of their bad conditions, he gives as the three most important, low wages, bad housing conditions and intemperance. He says:

> There is a closer connection between the wages of the tenement and the vices and improvidence of those who dwell in them, than we with the guilt of the tenement upon our heads are willing to admit, even to ourselves.

The turning point in actual conditions in New York, which most influenced social thinking and made the outlook of Mr. Riis (himself an immigrant), upon the world of New York so different from that of Brace, came with the newer immigration. In the eighties began the inrush of Italians, Russian Jews and other Southern and Eastern European peoples which continued with unbroken force until the outbreak of the great war. Israel Zangwill coined the phrase the "melting pot," and the presence of the multiplying racial groups stirred new thought and helped to develop new methods; but the philanthropists still stressed the need of bringing out from the different types a single American pattern, believing that disease and sweat shop conditions were due to ignorance. Riis certainly was a great influence in veering thought to the quality of the children and in broadening and enlarging a conception of their essential needs.

IN 1915
The door of opportunity, from The House on Henry Street, by Lillian D. Wald

Perhaps it would be fair to say that, as Loring Brace is identified with the establishment of the Newsboys' Lodging House, Jacob Riis's name will be most readily identified with the small parks movement and the need of play for little children.

The House on Henry Street—1915

THE preface to the book indicates the revolution in the minds of thoughtful people towards the multiple problems called "social":

> During the two decades of the existence of the settlement, there has been a significant awakening on matters of social concern, throughout society in general; and a new sense of responsibility has been aroused among men and women, but perhaps more distinctively among women, since the period coincides with their freer admission into public and professional life. The settlement is in itself an expression of this sense of responsibility, and, under its roof, many divergent groups have come together to discuss measures for the "many mindless mass that most needs helping," and often to assert by deed their faith in democracy.

Schools to train social workers were established that professional efficiency might be standardized and that sentimental, often unwise, though kindly disposed people might be trained into intelligent exercise of their good will. The Conference of Charities and Corrections was rechristened Conference for Social Work, indicative of an altered attitude. Current literature, and the conference itself, give emphasis to the conviction of interrelations and the mutual responsibilities between people; "class" is taboo, and research is directed towards the underlying causes that victimize human beings worthy in themselves, and dignified with "rights" and obligations.

Evidence of the changed social relations between the period of the pitiful little wharf rats—"dangerous"; Jacob Riis's "other half"; and the period of The House on Henry Street is recorded in the social legislation for the protection of children, the expansion of the education financed by the state, the numerous demonstrations for which money is lavishly provided that intelligence may be awakened to the needs of society. The campaign to popularize scientific discoveries for protection of health and prevention of disease, the establishment of medical inspection in the schools, and the creation of the public health nurse, called the "unique American," a list of achievements too lengthy to be enumerated in this article.

Selection of the outstanding innovations reflecting the newer attitude would perhaps single out first the establishment of the social settlements, based upon the fundamental needs of intimate first-hand knowledge of people and industrial conditions, the emphasis laid upon the likeness of peoples and not their difference; second the creation of institutions supported from the contributions of all the citizens—taxation—that there might be a newer approximation of the principles of democracy; and, finally, the creation of the Federal Children's Bureau, a realization of the wealth of the country in its children, the obligation of the government to guard them that the future of the republic might be assured through the culture of its children.

The House on Henry Street was doubtless selected as the third book because it also had its origin in the field served by Loring Brace and Jacob Riis. It is only one example of the spirit of the times that expresses itself in activities emphasizing the dignity of human beings, the rich potentialities of the race, the obligation to the newcomer and the importance of underlying causes that develop social problems. The erection of beautiful school buildings, asphalted streets, small parks, recreation piers, are a few of the more concrete examples of this change of attitude to children.

Perhaps 1872 was the period of fear because of the unknown elements within the city. Perhaps 1915, and the years that have followed, expressed the need of scientific inquiry into social conditions. To prevent evils has become the common aspiration.

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Miss Nightingale: R. N. U. S. A.

NURSING AND NURSING EDUCATION IN THE U. S., *by the Committee for the Study of Nursing Education. Macmillan Co. 585 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN RED CROSS NURSING, *by Lavinia L. Dock, R.N., Sarah Elizabeth Pickett, B.A., Clara D. Noyes, R.N., Fannie F. Clement, B.A., R.N., Elizabeth G. Fox, B.A., R.N., Anna R. Van Meter, B.A., M.S. Macmillan Co., 1562 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

WHAT the nursing problem is depends on you. Are you a health officer, a hospital superintendent, member of a board of education, of a relief agency, or just one of the occasionally or habitually sick? Then again, it is perhaps a question of your and her idea as to what the nurse's place is in the hierarchy of personal and public service. Is she a sort of glorified housemaid, a substitute for the dearly beloved maiden aunt when the children have measles, a good buffer against a too curious world when you are indulging in a case of "nerves"? Is she a makeshift for the doctor when the school board wants to do school inspection cheap? Is she the statistician of the local charity society, or lecturer on the intricacies of maternal and infant life? Does she say she is climbing as fast and as high as her good running start will carry her, or that she has arrived at a predestined goal? Now is the time to crystallize your thoughts and greet the facts clearly. But beware of trying to fix the position of the nurse, for is she not even now opening the gates for her oncoming sisters into fields of conquest brighter, broader, more fertile than ever?

To begin with, we are in the presence of a *profession* with those practical ideals and personal convictions which have made all that is good of practitioners of medicine. A *profession* certainly, in that for nurses the body politic has established the grades of entrance, the path of labor to attainment of rank and registry, and warned the incompetent and undisciplined to keep their distance.

This is perhaps the principal outcome of the two books which give the occasion for these reflections: Nursing and Nursing Education in the United States—a survey conducted by a committee of representative medical and nursing educators appointed by the Rockefeller Foundation; and the History of American Red Cross Nursing—a voluminous record of its development from the time of Florence Nightingale to the present day.

Another point that emerges strongly, especially from the first-named volume, is the essential character of science. Greater knowledge always develops simplicity of service; when we knew not the full meaning of fever or blood pressure, of the chemical tests of body fluids, we had perforce to use ways and means of the laboratory and limit the experimenters to physicians. As soon as ever the chief use and reasons for the tests and reactions were clear, the unloading process began until we see now the nurse sallying forth on her rounds with a kit quite as complete for recording the progress of the case as many a doctor knew how to use a generation ago.

As the diagnosis and treatment of disease becomes more thoroughly studied, as the need of more aids and servants of the sick develops specialists within and without the hospital, the physician will perforce steadily pass on to the nurse what he cannot find time and hands and eyes to do and record himself. This will continue, as far as we can now see, indefinitely into the future.

Again we see a process of absorption and unloading in the realm of public health protection: While not more than 25 per cent of the sick ask for or get medical care, all the people must have health education and protection. While the number of physicians graduating in the past ten years has been but half of the output of the previous decade, and the country has grown a good 10 per cent in the same time, a call for the peripatetic teacher of health, the dispenser of cheer, courage, skill in method, knowledge of the common enemy disease, has become insistent and increasing in force and frequency like the pulse in bounding fever. Between these processes and the operation of the law of supply and demand and the lengthened, more costly process of nurse training, the sick in their private capacities have felt the pinch.

THE HENRY STREET NURSE

A painting by Reni-Mel, official artist of the French War Department and president of the Center of Arts of Paris, presented by him to the Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service, New York, for its new administration building in appreciation, as he says, of the most American thing he has found in America

More rarely is the nurse a resident attendant, more often the swift, deft messenger who serves the sick, and trains the members of the household to carry on the work she has begun. Housing shortage and the eight-hour day for nurses have driven many of the sick to hospitals where, in the small and semi-private wards, those whose illnesses need a constant care not possible for the visiting or hourly nurse to give, get something better than the doctor and the sick-nurse in the home could give a short twenty years ago.

No sleight of hand will bring the nurse back on a wishing carpet as an inexpensive privilege of the sick, a twenty-four hours a day attendant in the home. And yet, as the doctor has unloaded on the nurse, and now as the interne is in process of passing to the hands of technicians in laboratory and clinic and wards many of the details which need deftness and accuracy rather than judgment and discretion, opinion and foresight, so the nurse has, while in hospital training and as graduate in charge of wards, needed and obtained the ward maid to do the routine, non-educational functions of house-cleaning and fetching and carrying that need willing and quiet feet and hands rather than the thinking mind and trained, observant eye and touch. And where graduates alone are used in hospitals and costs run higher than income, the practical nurse, the understudy, the assistant of the trained R. N., comes to fill a widening gap and,

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though she has but scanty book learning and little or no theory and laboratory work to give her vision and background for growth, this latest comer to the sick-room meets a need at a modest cost which will grow as soon as the supply is more widespread.

With 150,000 *trained nurses,* (an increase of 83 per cent in 10 years), of whom 120,000 are supposed to be still in the private field and 11,000 in public health nursing; and another 150,000 *attendants* and nurses of less than the best training and experience; and 55,000 *student nurses* in hospitals, we have a ratio of *one nurse, including all sorts, to every* 300 *of the population.*

Note well, please, you who still have memories of the nurse of a generation ago, who ran the cook and the husband and the children while she seemed to be at your ready call and need any moment of the day or night, that at least 50,000 more nurses will be absorbed into public health work before there is any appreciable increase in the proportion of bed-side nurses to the population as a whole.

But why save you the pleasure or the profit of reaching your own conclusions? The facts are before you in the exquisite accuracy of statement for which Josephine Goldmark is already famous. Can any one recall a picture of any other profession in the making, so fully and truly etched as this survey of hers for the Committee on Nursing and Nursing Education? The uses and abuses are sketched with discretion and good judgment. Without squeezing sentiment out in an effort to ape the disciples of efficiency, sob stuff has no place in the vignettes of cases and personal service studied in the field. The committee which conceived, supported, carried out and presented this valuable record of one of the triumphs of the modern social order has put us all under a debt which we can severally repay by learning the lesson offered and applying it to our spheres of influence, be they institutional or personal, educational or the so-called practical.

One phase of American nursing history—that of the organization and development of the nursing service of the American Red Cross—has been gathered in elaborate detail in the History of American Red Cross Nursing, an official volume written and edited by men and women who have been active in the development of the work. The book follows the Red Cross nurses in the Spanish war, the world war, the foreign emergency relief program, and the post-war developments in rural and public health nursing and educational work in which the Red Cross has played an active part.

HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.

Ebb Tide

THE BURDEN OF UNEMPLOYMENT, *by Philip Klein. Russell Sage Foundation. About 250 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

THE bread line of America waxes and wanes not only with the seasons, as Mrs. Bruère pointed out so convincingly in the last number of SURVEY GRAPHIC, but at intervals of years; the economists speak of "cyclical fluctuations" and ordinary men of fat and lean years, of prosperity that comes and goes—no one quite knows why or how—and hard times that eat up savings, knock out the weaker business concerns, bring thousands of strangers to the great cities to beg for bread, and make it hard for landlords to collect rents. Just now the farmers voice their annual complaint that enough labor cannot be obtained to till the soil; there is a boom in the building trades and the steel industry, and, generally speaking, "business is looking up." Just now, therefore, is the best of all times to look into the problem of unemployment, to prepare measures for meeting it, to be ready for any crisis that may come, however suddenly, however severe.

We are repeating ourselves. We said the same thing after the depressions in 1893-94, in 1907-08, in 1914-15. We must repeat ourselves; for the lesson has not yet been learned. Committees and commissions and a whole library of discussion notwithstanding, each new employment crisis finds us equally unprepared. In our industrial centers today, almost without exception, there is no accumulation of jobs that can be given out when a depression sets in; no accumulation of reserve funds that can be used to relieve exceptional destitution from unemployment; no machinery to get together quickly the forces which, combined, could ward off the worst phenomena of a trade depression; no machinery even for a continuous and accurate measurement of the employment market.

The Russell Sage Foundation has added a notable volume to its library of textbooks on social practice and engineering, a volume which goes far beyond any previous attempt to systematize our existing knowledge of the nature of the relief problem at a time of exceptional unemployment and of the best craftsmanship that has been developed in meeting it. If a study so thorough and sound as that of Mr. Klein fails to awaken a sense of responsibility and a desire to be prepared for emergencies, then nothing will avail; and we must look forward to recurrent lengthenings of the bread line at intervals of some years, recurrent fumblings for remedies for evils that cannot be remedied except in anticipation, recurrent periods of intense hardship and suffering, all the more bitter because they are largely preventable. The book offers no simple plan or program that can be written into the "objects" and budgets of existing relief organizations; but it does offer guiding principles which arise from the actual successes and failures of relief efforts in fifteen American cities during the last depression, principles which must be considered now if they are to be of practical value, and not when mobs of angry unemployed men throw stones at city hall windows and demand that something be done for them.

IT is difficult briefly to summarize these principles; difficult chiefly because they are limited to certain phases of the problem and admittedly incomplete in themselves. The aim of this study "is to give some account of the unemployment relief measures made use of during the emergency period of 1921-22, projected upon a background of as many and as varied American cities as there was time to visit and inquire into before the summer of the latter year." It may be true, though we doubt it, that the vast literature on the relief of unemployment, American and foreign, is of no practical value today; but Mr. Klein's findings show that in some respects the nature of the last depression was exceptional, and for that reason it would have been well to check them off to some extent against the findings of previous studies that are embodied in the reports of committees and organizations busy during the depressions of 1907-08 and 1914-15. For the crisis of 1921 followed a period of exceptional business activity, a number of years in which wages had gone up by leaps and bounds. Not only did it find the wage-earners of America with larger reserves to weather the storm, but there were still current the well-known tales of the extravagance of American workingmen; employers and people of means who at other times would

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be sympathetic with the struggles of the unemployed and their families, remembered the silk shirts and pianos and silverware supposed to have entered in such large masses into the possession of manual workers and thought it might not be a bad thing if "labor" were taught a lesson in thrift and contentment with a less costly standard of life.

But more particularly is this study limited—and to some extent impaired—by a pessimism which assumes that the effects of a trade depression must in the main continue to be what they have always been; that large-scale preventive effort will continue to be lacking; that homeless men will continue to drift into the cities at such times; that the labor market will continue to remain unorganized; that employers will continue to disregard the interests of their personnel in their sales policies; that there will be no insurance or industrial maintenance by which industries will in normal times get ready to take care of their members in abnormal times.

And pessimism in another form must be mentioned too. It is important because it has permeated all American thinking on community problems. Whenever a task for the general welfare is neglected or badly done by our public bodies, our first thought is not how to stimulate them to action or how to improve the machinery by which our democracy does its own work, but to devise machinery, less democratic, less representative of the whole community, by which we may circumvent the inefficiency or lethargy of our elected public officers. Mr. Klein, of course, admits that public employment exchanges, to reach maximum efficiency, must be part of the machinery of state government, with at least a modicum of interstate cooperation under federal auspices. Nevertheless, the whole emphasis of his treatment of this important factor is laid on the voluntary organization of emergency employment bureaus, on the assumption that there will be no public employment system functioning efficiently. Now in a modern industrial civilization the maintenance of a continuous index of economic conditions is almost the first essential of government; until we insist on having it, America will remain what it is now, a country largely without government in the most important every-day affairs of its citizens. In another article in this issue the question is raised whether any community action, when it becomes centralized, does not automatically assume the nature of municipal action. The whole tendency in recent years has been to build up secondary governments in our cities—especially in the meeting of social needs; and, while there may be something to be said for it, we should at least be aware of the fact that to the extent that we entrench these so-called "community" organizations, we are undermining the effectiveness and value of our political institutions.

These considerations, applied to the prevention of relief of unemployment, are by no means purely academic. As Mr. Klein points out, in recent years there has been an extraordinary shift in the assumption of responsibility for the public welfare from generally representative bodies to chambers of commerce and other organizations representative in the main of one class. He says:

> The ascendency of city chambers of commerce and the effect of this ascendency not only upon social agencies but on social work as a whole, is a matter of far-reaching importance which has never been adequately studied. The undefined relations now existing undoubtedly complicated the emergency situation of those social agencies covered by the present study.

And again, with unusual candor:

> The development of the general activities of the chambers of commerce, and particularly their increasing influence on the finances and policies of social agencies, placed them in a natural position to assume active leadership in the community effort for the relief of unemployment and its concomitant distress. But at this point the basic difficulty with these chambers asserted itself. Their membership is very largely of the employing class; their interests, whenever a possible division between capital and labor presents itself, are naturally with the former. It was the general policy of employers and of all the business interests during the depression of 1921-22 to interpret the situation in accordance with their personal interests.

In spite of these reflections and in spite of the frequent hostility on the part of the organized workers to the efforts of the ad hoc unemployment committees thus influenced, the possibility of making at least some of the activities carried on by these bodies functions of local government is not seriously discussed and evidently was not seriously considered by those among whom Mr. Klein sought his information. Instead, the voluntary social agencies, and especially the family welfare agencies which usually take the lead in such matters, work toward constituting themselves, in mutual cooperation and under the domination of the business interests, a sort of secondary municipal government for the public welfare. Herein lies a real danger; the outcome of such a struggle is almost a foregone conclusion: while in such a situation there may be much progress in the technical handling of the task of relief, there is an ever lessening chance for the building up of a really effective machinery of prevention.

So much for the limits of a study which, as already indicated, in other respects is a model of thoroughness and will, undoubtedly, be found of great practical usefulness by social workers both during and before an emergency. There is enough evidence, for instance, to show the impracticability of a direct count of the number of unemployed persons during a crisis—a method on which infinite effort and time has often been wasted. There are admirable hints of ways and means to construct at short notice workable barometers of economic conditions, assuming no permanent forms of measurement to be in existence. There is praiseworthy insistence on decentralization in the administration of relief with centralization in planning. There is recognition of the fact that small committees of interested persons succeed where large committees representative of different groups and organizations are apt to fail. There is emphasis on the need for competency in relief work during normal times if there is to be effective meeting of distress in abnormal times. There is condemnation of centralized registration of unemployed persons which almost invariably raises false hopes and undermines a desire for self-help and mutual help within a neighborhood or group.

There is not quite enough emphasis, it seems to us, on two other desiderata: First, the accumulation of reserve funds in normal times for meeting abnormal distress. The last crisis has demonstrated that a depression may be welcomed by the employing interests as a wholesome "deflation" of wages, so that at such a time there is little sympathy and generosity for the unemployed on the part of citizens of means. Second, the creation in normal times of reserves of personnel that can be relied upon as an effective addition to the force of trained and competent workers in times of exceptional demand for service.

Many other points in this report offer inviting topics for further discussion. We can only mention one or two.

The technique of dealing with landlords when large numbers of tenants, because of unemployment, find themselves unable to pay their rent, does not seem to have been very thoroughly developed. If we were not so averse to increasing the functions of government, the creation of a compulsory system of mutual insurance for owners of dwellings rented below a certain rent level might be found not impracticable.

Representation of wage-earners on the boards of welfare agencies—facetiously anticipated in another article in this issue—might do much to overcome the hostility of labor to casework of which so many agencies complain.

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Certain types of publicity, condemned because of their sentimental emphasis on factors in the situation not conducive to good casework, might best be counteracted by an effort of the agencies themselves to present their work to the public in more dramatic forms rather than shrouding it in professional mystery.

The enthusiasm of such groups as chapters of the American Legion, instead of being discouraged as apt to lead to harmful forms of relief or duplication of work, might be harnessed to the larger effort of the community by a more generous offer of skilled assistance—provided, as suggested above, that some progress is made toward solving the difficult problem of securing adequate numbers of competent workers in an emergency.

There may be more "room for originality in devising jobs . . . without creating artificial tasks" than the report assumes. The Salvation Army has been quite successful in this at times; but often the best suggestions come from groups not directly concerned in questions of relief. In the average community there are both jobs and sources of credit that can be made available if the unemployed to be assisted with work opportunities are grouped into appropriate categories as regards skill and character. With imagination and resourcefulness, work opportunities for unmarried unemployed men can often be found in places to which it is impossible to draft married men who support families.

It ought to be possible to arouse much more public opinion than has been usual on the responsibility of employers, not only to distribute work at times of depression in the least harmful ways but also to do the utmost within their means to help those workers whom they are obliged to discharge.

But enough of these suggestions—advanced here not so much as important addenda to the book under review but rather to demonstrate its stimulating quality. For the main value of this study is not its record of facts, though there are many facts of great interest to the student of the subject; but rather its analysis of experience that invites constructive thinking. B. L.

Instincts vs. Culture

SOCIAL CHANGE, *by William F. Ogburn. B. W. Huebsch. 365 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF INSTINCT, *by Charles C. Josey. Scribners. 274 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

HUMAN TRAITS AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE, *by Irwin Edman. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 467 pp. Price $3.75 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, *by Robert H. Gault. Henry Holt and Co. 336 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

OUTLINE OF PSYCHOLOGY, *by William McDougall. Scribners. 456 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

THE proper study of mankind, we have it on good authority, is man. This proper study has passed through many stages and has yielded some surprising results. This is notably true in the field of man's mental life. The study of mind has been known for ages as psychology. That word means the science of Psyche, the soul. For some two thousand years, psychology lingered in reverent contemplation of the soul. But within the last hundred years much has been changed. Professor Cattell says that psychology lost its soul about thirty years ago. For the last twenty years it has been trying to lose consciousness; and in the last ten years it has almost succeeded in losing its mind!

In place of these non-essential imponderables, psychology has discovered some amazing new areas of mechanisms. A dictionary of the new psychology would read like a catalogue of an international machinery supply house. Of the terms that would be included in that dictionary, we are here concerned with but one, that one almost the oldest of all. The first contribution of the naturalistic sciences of the nineteenth century to psychology was the conception of instincts. Animals had, of course, long been suspected of being little but bundles of instincts; but man's nature had been carefully guarded from any such imputation. The doctrine of evolution leveled all barriers. Man was caught in the general current of organic life and swept off his superior feet. When he found himself again, along about 1890, he realized (take it from James) that he had more instincts than any known animal. Since that time, his instinctive life, though short, has been an exceedingly merry one. The younger generation, so to speak, has been reveling in instincts for the past thirty years. McDougall's Social Psychology (published in 1908) marks the high tide of this revel. McDougall married off each instinct to an appropriate emotion, and brought psychology to the heights of romance. That was more than a staid science could endure. Hence, since the scientific world recovered from the first shock of surprise at this romanticism, the instincts have been marked for slaughter. The Day has arrived!

In his Social Change, Professor Ogburn pronounces a gentle but determinate verdict. Professor Josey, not content with any such moderation will have an end of all instincts, at once. The argument is worth definition. Human personality includes two elements, hereditary endowment and acquired culture. The former, which we may identify with human nature, includes both native capacities and native desires. The biologist and the biological psychologist think of this native endowment as primarily instinctive, and they find in the instincts the chief elements that give permanence and continuity to the life of man. Human nature resides in the instincts, and human nature is at the basis of all human achievements. Our acquired culture is but a fancy cloak with which we adorn the substantial realities of the human world. Human nature assures, and assures the permanence of, human achievements. But because human nature is so ancient and so persistent, social changes can be brought very slowly, if at all.

But Professors Ogburn and Josey find, in common with the so-called "culture historians," that man's native endowment is not nearly so elaborate, or so determinate as the last thirty years have assumed. For them, the world's accumulated culture is the important factor in "human nature" and social relationships. Man's original endowment is but an undifferentiated framework, upon which education, acting through the community life, hangs the cultures of the ages. Human nature cannot be changed; at least, not greatly. But that is a matter of no consequence. Civilization can drape the same original human nature with amazing varieties of culture. Practically all differentiations of races, institutions, attitudes and outlooks are to be accounted for by these inherited differences, not of native instincts, but of cultures. These differences in culture arise out of the variant factors that have surrounded any particular race in its development of its culture. These factors are geographical, climatic, material; accidental contacts with other peoples and the accidental selection of certain results for survival; the slow accumulations of the ages.

Hence, original human nature counts for little in the progress of the race. Man is not a biological being; he is a cultural being. His history is not determined by putative instincts, but by the accumulated realities of his culture. If he were primarily instinctive, he would remain essentially stationary. But culture breeds more culture. Humanity

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grows, progresses. Culture invents new forms of culture. The steam engine invents the steam-boat, and the steam-boat invents the ocean liner. Arithmetic invents algebra and algebra invents the infinitesimals.

In carrying the argument through to its conclusion, Professor Ogburn shows much moderation; but Professor Josey does not fear a little dogmatism, now and then. For this reason Social Change is rather the better book for the uninitiated to read.

Mr. Edman's Human Traits shows curiously little influence from this new development. His human traits are still quite the older biological traits: he enumerates practically all the old-time instincts. Hence, his book is a valuable corrective to the enthusiasms of the new school.

With the soul abolished, consciousness lost and the mind tottering out of psychology, one looks in Professor Gault's Social Psychology for something to take the place of these once useful concepts. But one looks in vain. Mind and soul do not appear in the book. "Self" appears only in a compound. Human beings have dissolved to systems of behavior, and they move like fragments of old blue-prints through fantastic dances in an engineer's attic. Social psychology is strong on analytics; it has little to do, as yet, with synthesis.

In the four books so far discussed, there is much tearing to pieces, as is necessary in science; but there is little putting things back together, as is necessary in life. Doubtless the next ten years will witness a battle royal between the biological psychologists and the culture historians. Out of such a desirable battle, something positive ought to appear. The social psychologists ought to be on hand to conserve the gains and clear away the debris; to assure the world a larger social understanding and a more secure position for the next battle of ideas.

Something of this service is promised in Professor McDougall's Outline of Psychology. Ten years ago, McDougall was looked upon as the leading exponent of the predominant career of instincts in human nature. Since then, he has wandered off into strange fields. But this new book brings him back to the old discussion. He leaves those socio-political propagandisms which marked (and marred) his Group Mind and Is America Safe for Democracy? Readers will here find something of the stimulus of his original Social Psychology. But that older, romantic theory of the instincts has been largely modified, in the direction pointed out by the culture historians. Moreover, McDougall is not afraid to be positive and constructive. He cannot wholly dispense with soul; he has a real use for mind; and consciousness is not wholly the fantastic thing the behaviorists would have us believe. When McDougall gets through with human personality, something substantial remains!

In these five books, social workers, teachers, and all who want to become aware of the discussions that now rage through the field of social psychology will find stimulating arguments and cross-arguments. But all readers are warned that any one who accepts, as final, any doctrine or argument in psychology today does so at his own risk, not to say peril!

J. K. H.

The Run of the Shelves

THE QUARE WOMEN, *by Lucy Furman. Atlantic Monthly Press. 219 pp. Price $1.75 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

ONLY the "fotched-on"—those who come from the flat world outside—ever refer to the people of the Kentucky and Tennessee hills as "mountain whites." The term is an anomaly in districts where a Negro is almost as rare as an aeroplane, but its frequent use is symptomatic of the aloofness and ignorance which lingers in the minds of those who talk of their cousins in the hills as though they were a degraded and outlandish race. Even among those who are working to bring contemporary civilization into the mountains there are some self-appointed missionaries who are none too careful either of their facts or of the sensitiveness of these shy, self-respecting people of the hill counties, where the railroads pass by and even the Ford cannot penetrate.

Fortunately most of the educational work in these stony creek-valleys has been of a very different sort. The pioneers who worked their way up from the blue-grass into the Kentucky hills thirty years ago have labored with sympathy and hard commonsense. It does not take the visitor long to discover that they have their reward—not only in the gratitude of the folk who are cleaner, wiser and happier than the last generation, but in their daily contact with the picturesque courtesy, racy speech and personal charm of their neighbors.

The Quare Women tells the story of the first "furriners" on Troublesome Creek, and the beginning of an educational enterprise which is now represented by the strong school at Hindman and its vigorous offshoot at Pine Mountain. The book has the charm of the mountaineers; it is full of their delightful idiom; it portrays them with humorous understanding. Some of the conditions which it describes have disappeared at Hindman, where "all hands is a-larning civility and God-fearingness," but they could no doubt be duplicated today in other remote valleys, for the color of life in the hills changes slowly.

A youngster who had to walk six miles from his cabin-home to school, and six miles back, appeared at Hindman one day in March when the creeks were so swollen that his teacher had thought it impossible for him to win through. "How did you make it?" she asked him. "Why," he answered, "there hain't no turn in me!" There hain't no turn in the quare women. Hindman has twice been burned out: discouragements have been many.

But they are still at work, and the circle of their influence has widened enormously. More power to them!

G. S.

THE DECAY OF CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION, *by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 242 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

CONSIDERING that the authors have for over thirty years been among the leaders of the British socialist movement, this restatement of the fundamental brief against capitalism is astonishingly simple and straightforward. Without oratorical flourishes, with just enough detailed illustration to drive home every point made, with the lucidity of argument which one expects from the Webbs, and a style devoid of technicalities, this book is a powerful indictment of our social organization. Whether you believe that this organization can be reformed or believe that it must be destroyed, you could hardly wish for a more clear-cut statement of its present failure.

The authority of this book derives from the fact that the authors, throughout their public career, have been constructive social thinkers, investigators, administrators. They say: "We have never felt free to preach an ideal until we found the way towards its realization." Some of their ideals may be mistaken ones; some of their remedies inadequate or grotesquely overlarge in comparison with the evils for which they were devised; but through them runs a healthy realism which is the chief characteristic also of the present study—their first excursion, the authors tell us, into the realm of moral judgment.

The occasion for the book is the attack of landowners and

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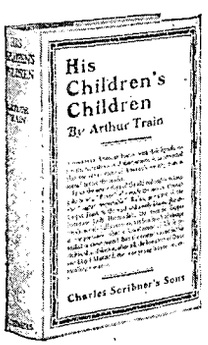

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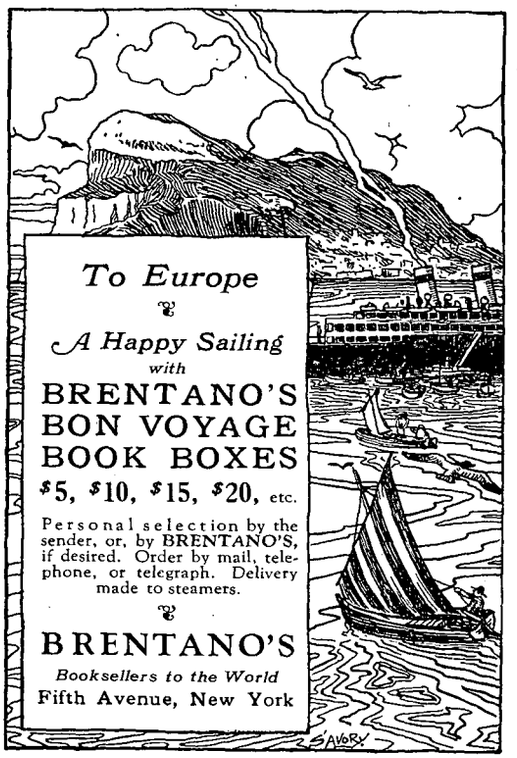

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capitalists, since the war, on every vantage point gained by industrial and political democracy in the era of progress between 1906 and 1914. The book ends on a note of pessimism: it may yet be that the effort of the Fabians and other socialists to keep the struggle against the dictatorship of capital on an evolutionary basis will break down before the blindness of those who wield the power of ownership. B. L.

THE NEXT STEP, *by Scott Nearing. Published by Nellie Seeds Nearing, Ridgewood, N. J. 175 pp. Price, cloth* $1.00, *paper* $ .50 *postpaid of the* SURVEY.

OUT of the present orgy of repairing, revamping, patching, turning, cleaning, and dyeing by which the people of the world are trying to make their old economic habiliments presentable, it is comforting to have some one tell us that what we need is a whole new suit. This is what Scott Nearing does in his latest book, The Next Step. It is quite true that we have been wearing the garments of competition, political rivalry, capitalism, disorganized production and wasteful consumption a long, long time! Mr. Nearing believes that the fashions have changed and that we are ready for something quite different—a government of the world by all of the people in it who work. The new social organization as he sees it strives to combine centralized control with widely decentralized local operation.

The various occupational groups are to be organized in local economic units, the units will be combined through their representatives in divisional councils and the divisional councils again represented in a central world parliament. All this is a sort of warp in the social-economic fabric. The woof appears when the local units of one occupation are federated with the neighboring local units in another occupation—a lateral federation which extends through the division organizations up to the central boards. It is to be a closely knit fabric, and the basis of it is economic representation. Mr. Nearing says:

> The economics of the modern world make it inevitable... that the practical plans for the organization and direction of human affairs should be built around an idea which includes these three elements:
>
> 1. *Any workable plan for the organization of the world must have an economic foundation.*
> 2. *Such a plan must include all of the economically essential portions of the world.* It will be ineffective if it is confined to any one nation, to any one group of nations, or to any one continent.
> 3. *Such a plan must rely, for its fulfillment, on world thinking and world organization.*

So far as the League of Nations is a plan for coordinating the life of the world it violates all three of these essential principles, Mr. Nearing thinks. He plans to build up a world structure in terms of production rather than of politics, and the object of this new reorganization is to place all power in the hands of the producer.

> The society of the present day vests power — particularly economic power—in the hands of the owners of economic resources and machinery . . . the chief emphasis is placed on owning rather than on working.

To make the right-about-face in the basic social philosophy of the world, which he suggests, Mr. Nearing gives us not one but five steps:

1. The socialization and persistent distribution of extant knowledge.
2. A decision with regard to the next great social experiment.
3. The selection of the group best able to carry through this adventure.
4. The preparation of this group for its task.
5. The placing of the task upon their shoulders, and the backing of them with every possible assistance.

Taken all in all it is a very interesting plan of what might be done. The chief difficulty is that while Mr. Nearing points out clearly and distinctly what the next steps are, he does not tell us how we, as human beings full of prejudices and habits and more or less fitted into a world of quite a different sort, are going to so change ourselves as to be able to take the necessary steps even after we see them.

M. B. B.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT, *by Albert Léon Guérard. Boni & Liveright. 268 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

INTO a construction gang of three or four hundred men, split into many language and dialect groups, and cursed by its bosses for its stupidity, came an Esperanto teacher. In ten days, the men were jabbering cheerfully to each other; "their eyes became brighter and their step more sure; the crowd of dull men was transformed; they became intelligent." A story like that, told by Ernest McCullough in the SURVEY for December 15, 1922, shakes the assurance of the so-called practical man who insists that an auxiliary language is pure bosh, that at best it can be only a philological toy.

Professor Guérard presents so sound and entertaining a review of the international language movement, in the latest of the engaging cultural histories which Boni and Liveright have obligingly brought out, that an open-minded reader must be further convinced of its practicality. First he disposes tactfully of the claims of French, English and Latin to universal adoption. Then he traces the abortive attempts at a philosophical language—which produced such monstrosities as the word *ababa* for *oxygen*—and the sequence of Volapük, Esperanto, and Ido. Volapük, it seems, was so fearfully and wonderfully inflected that one could say in a single verb-form, "Ladies, I charge you to have loved by a certain time!" With urbane humor, he questions the extreme claims of all these proposed systems.

Though Professor Guérard's own preference is for the more scientific methods which appear in some of the later Anglo-Latin proposals, he agrees that the most practical working program is first to get Esperanto recognized as a world auxiliary tongue and then to improve it as may be necessary.

The project for a common speech and text in which the nations of the world, sacrificing nothing of the mother tongues, can unite for purposes of international communication, has always fascinated a speculative minority. If, as Professor Guérard points out, the current proposals are approaching a common denominator which will readily be accepted, the next generation may see one more utopian dream become a reality.

G. S.

THE HISTORY OF UTOPIAN THOUGHT, *by Joyce Oramel Hertzler, Ph.D. Macmillan Co. 321 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

After Lewis Mumford's brilliant survey (reviewed in SURVEY GRAPHIC for November), this book comes somewhat as an anti-climax, because it is not as interestingly written. This, however, should not detract from its value as an independent study which, in many respects, covers different ground and approaches the subject from a different angle. Mr. Hertzler includes in his history many writings which previously have not been considered as belonging to the realm of utopia and, as a result, is rather inclined to obscure the outlines—as, for example, when he admits in the introduction that his book "is essentially a study of social ideas and ideals" and proceeds to discuss forecasts on specific social issues as well as those that cover a complete social organization. Because of the confusion thus introduced, the concluding chapters on The Utopianistic Contribution to Civilization and The Limited Perspective of the Utopians are not altogether convincing. For example, such criticism as "in their projects of reform they failed to start with things as they are" might well be considered beside the point.

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of the safety-match from Norway and the gross object that passes for a match in this country to point the moral that diminishing forest supplies must be used thriftily. But he goes further in a constructive direction by urging the systematic cropping of farm wood-lots and the widespread establishment of municipal forests. Unfortunately the book is neither brilliant enough to command a large popular circulation nor decisive enough on questions of technique and public policy to serve the purpose of students and civic leaders.

THE LAND OF HEALTH, *by Grace T. Hallock and C.-E. A. Winslow, C. E. Merrill. 208 pp. Illustrated. Price 72c postpaid of the* SURVEY.
A CHILD'S BOOK OF THE TEETH, *by Harrison Wader Ferguson, D.D.S. World Book Co. 63 pp. Illustrated. Price 44c postpaid of the* SURVEY.
GOOD NEIGHBORS, *by Mary S. Haviland. Lippincott. 366 pp. Illustrated. Price $1.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

"For the middle-aged the avoidance of disease is a compelling force," says C.-E. A. Winslow in his preface to The Land of Health. "For the youth community service may be emphasized. With younger children these things have no appeal. The Land of Health attempts a different note. These stories have the ultimate motive of vigorous, buoyant health as a condition of happiness; and happiness is, and ought to be, the objective of childhood." Thus hygiene escapes from the dreary precincts of the old mechanical physiology books and, guided by child psychologists and health experts, becomes a road to a positive and glowing goal which every child wants. With much the same philosophy Harrison Wader Ferguson, a dentist himself, describes in words and sketches The Grinder Brigade, why it is worthy of respect, and how respect should be accorded. Good Neighbors, by Mary S. Haviland, takes up in simple and concrete form the principles of vocational and community hygiene which confront boys and girls who are pouring out of the schools in their early teens to take their places in factories and offices, farms and homes.

THE PRACTICE OF ORGANIZED PLAY, *by Wilbur P. Bowen, M.S., and Elmer D. Mitchell, A.M. A. S. Barnes & Co. 218 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

This book of detailed instructions for all sorts of "play activities," from bean bag to golf, offers valuable help for directors of playgrounds, recreational centers, clubs, etc. Besides classifying and explaining several hundred games it gives an excellent bibliography and an appendix setting forth in full the rules and regulations of the Detroit Department of Recreation.

THREE TO MAKE READY, *Three Plays for Young People, by Louise Ayres Garnett. George H. Doran Co. 194 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of the* SURVEY.
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The Drama League of America is setting out to publish a series of plays to be acted by children. The outlook is good if subsequent plays are to be as brisk, clear-cut, and comparatively free from foolishness as the ones in these initial volumes.

FOLK SONGS OF MANY PEOPLES, *compiled and edited by Florence Hudson Botsford. Vol. II. Woman's Press, New York. 484 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

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YOUR HIDDEN POWERS, *by James Oppenheim. Alfred A. Knopf. 249 pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of the* SURVEY.

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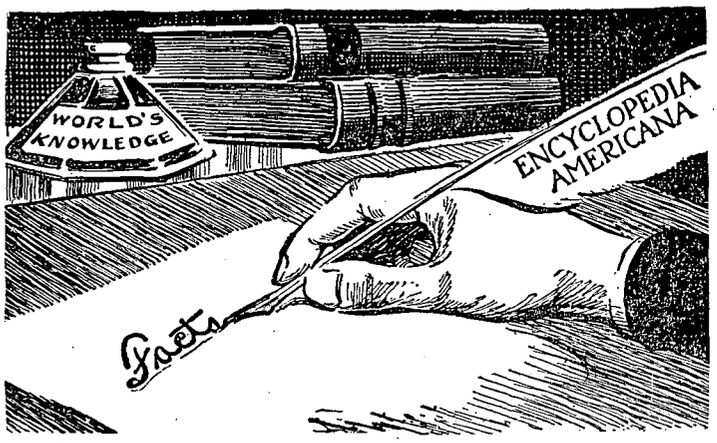

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same is true of singing. Whereupon the family enters wholeheartedly into the selling campaign to "put Dorothy across" as a prima donna. There is some satire in the Sinclair Lewis reportorial manner, but the book fails in significance because the author penetrates beneath the superficialities only a step farther than the dull folk he writes about.

DEMIAN, *by Hermann Hesse. Boni & Liveright. 215 pp. Price $2.00 postpaid of the* SURVEY.

An excursion into the half-lights of adolescence and youth—the country between dreaming and waking. The story is important as an example of the present-day trend toward mysticism, and is told with a pleasing symplicity, that is occasionally marred by bookishness of expression.

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This prize novel from Argentina is the story of a single-handed fight against prostitution and poverty in Buenos Aires, with very faint echoes of Dostoievsky, Spanish style. To an American reader it seems very slightly above the level of ordinary propagandist fiction.

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Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arthur Kellogg, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The SURVEY, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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WHAT SHALL SOCIAL WORKERS READ?

An Ambitious Attempt to Compile a List of Six Books

SELECTING the six most important books for social workers is like deciding on the six most important teeth in a buzz-saw.

The SURVEY started out naively to compile a composite list of the six books which every social worker should have as a nucleus of his library. We wrote to recognized leaders in social work and asked each to name the half dozen most essential books in his field—these selections to be consolidated into one list of six books.

It was then that we discovered that we were mixed up with the buzz-saw. Of those who replied to our questionnaire, no two had the same opinion of the essential books. Seventeen people chose 135 books. So varied were the choices that we abandoned the super-six plan and give below the individual lists received, with the comments which accompanied them.

At least the evidence gives us this comfort: that social workers have a greater opportunity than ever before to repair their intellectual fences by reading. That they are indeed doing the necessary repair work is shown by the unprecedented amount of business which passed through the Survey Book Department this year. Since June 1, 1922, we have filled orders for 3,107 books. If you are a good statistician you can readily figure out how large a fraction of one book each social worker has read.

How many of the books below have *you* read?

BOOKS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

Robert W. Kelso, *Executive Secretary, Boston Council of Social Agencies; Former President, National Conference of Social Work:*

Modern Democracies.—Bryce. (2 vols.) $10.50. This is not a satisfactory book. It smatters a great deal. It is tremendous in quantity and not equally valuable in quality. Nevertheless it is a remarkable analysis in the theory of government; and the theory of government might be styled the "blind side" of present-day social work.

Poverty and Dependency.—Gillin. $4.00. This book is not truly an analysis of its subject. It is an epitome of facts; a great storehouse of information, exceedingly valuable to the student. That it falls short of greatness does not detract from its value for this purpose.

Adolescence.—Hall. (2 vols.) $10.00. This book represents a field which every student of human nature should study carefully and ponder at length.

The Individual Delinquent.—Healy. $5.00. In the dominant field of child care—the hopeful end of social service—nothing better has been written regarding character and its unfoldings than this book by Healy.

Social Diagnosis.—Richmond. $2.00. Miss Richmond's philosophy is basic in the field of relief. I know of nothing better as a thought-inspiring work.

American Charities. — (Last edition.) Warner. $2.50. This book represents a very valuable birdseye view which cannot be neglected in foundation building for any social service library.

Elmer Scott, *Executive Secretary, Civic Federation of Dallas:*

When it comes to choosing *six*—that's hard. I name seven in the order I would have them read.

Mind in the Making.—Robinson. $2.50.

Human Nature and Conduct.—Dewey $2.25.

Labor's Challenge to the Social Order.—Brooks. $2.75.

Poverty and Dependency.—Gillin. $4.00.

Social Diagnosis.—Richmond. $2.00.

Social Work.—Devine. $3.00.

Layman's Handbook of Medicine.—Cabot. $3.00.

Dr. Neva R. Deardorff, *Editor of the Social Practice Department of the* SURVEY:

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Industrial Democracy.—Webb. $7.50.

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